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CDC April 8, 1965 35¢

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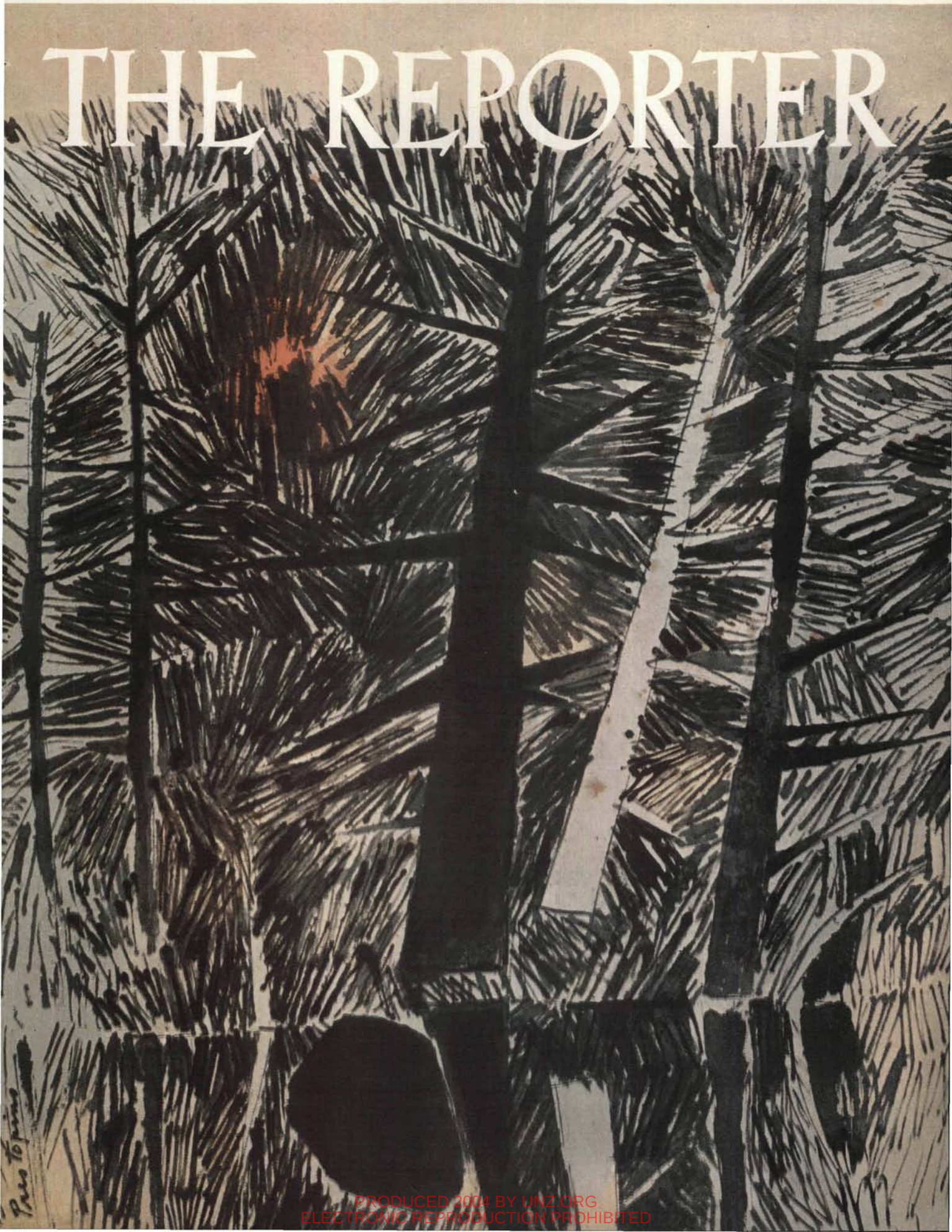
THE REPORTER



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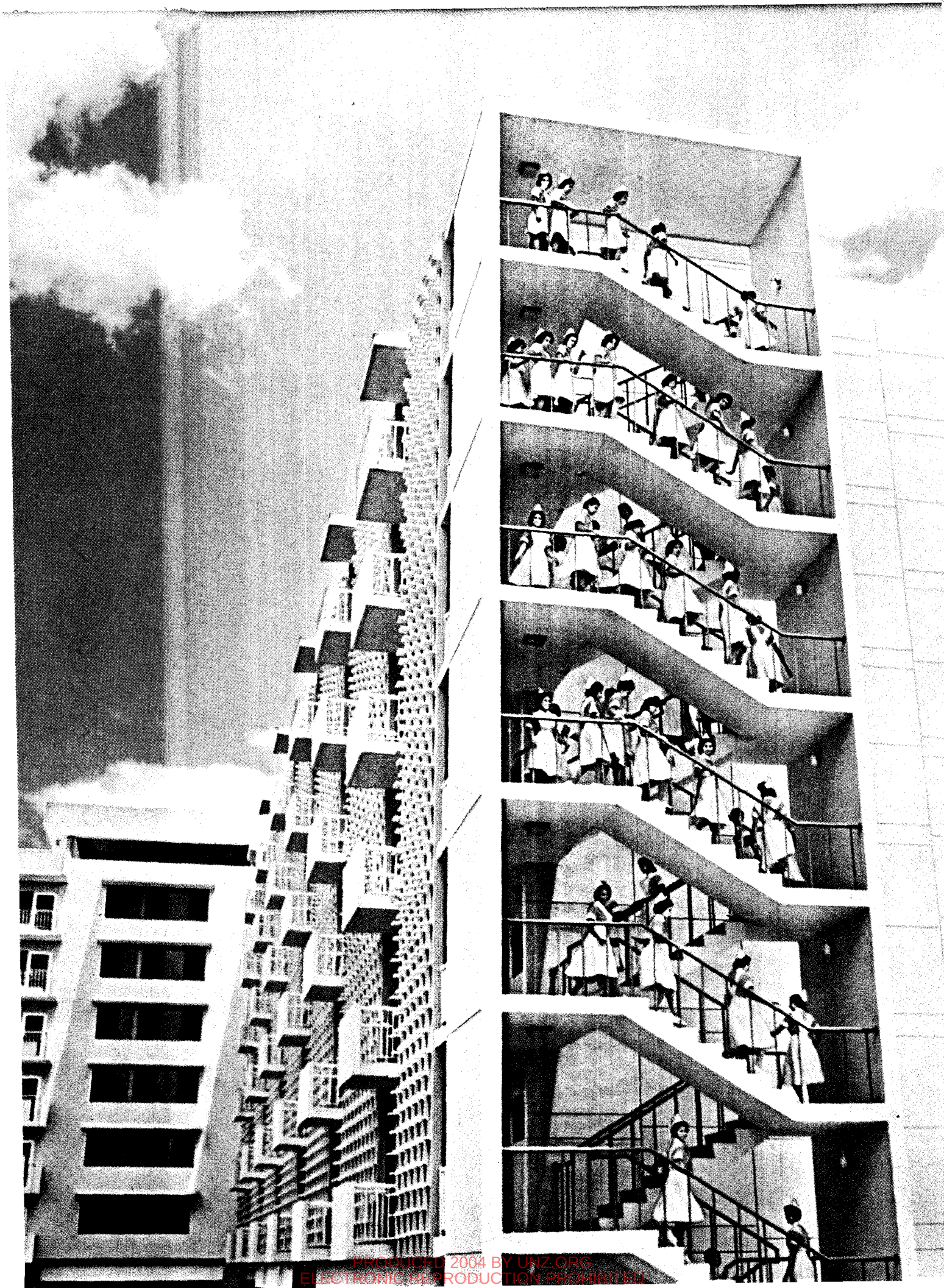

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PROGRESS REPORT TO U.S. INDUSTRY FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO:

Puerto Rico is now one of the healthiest countries on earth

Projects like this new $62 million medical center have helped raise average life expectancy to *seventy years*

WHEN those spruce young nurses in the picture were born, medical facilities in Puerto Rico were second-rate.

The average Puerto Rican existed on 31 cents a day, and was lucky if he lived to celebrate a 50th birthday.

Today, no other people in the Western Hemisphere have better health care—*or a higher life expectancy*. Incomes have soared, too. Average is now $830 per person per year, highest in Latin America.

The miracles of "Operation Bootstrap"

In the 1940's, the people of Puerto Rico launched a massive program of self-help, "Operation Bootstrap." Its major objective: to put an end to poverty, the root cause of ill health on the island.

Factories were built, and handsome incentives were offered to attract new industries. Slums were torn down, and fine modern houses went up in their place. As the country began to prosper, hospitals, schools and parks mushroomed throughout the island.

This new medical center is a proud example of the miracles worked under the impetus of "Operation Bootstrap."

Six hospitals in one

Facilities here are equal to any medical center in the world. On its 227 acres of grounds are three general hospitals, a long-term treatment clinic, a psychiatric hospital, and a nursing home.

Among them, they have more than three thousand beds, and are equipped to handle 16,000 operations and 87,000 emergency cases a year.

There are laboratories for research of every kind; an institute for advanced medical study; a rehabilitation center.

Nuclear age equipment

One building houses the most sophisticated equipment known today for treatment and diagnosis of cancer. It uses *cobalt energy*—and few other hospitals in the world are known to have it.

One of the finest medical schools

The Puerto Ricans have reason to be proud of one other feature of the new center: its School of Preventive Medicine and Public Health. This is one of the finest built in any country since the last war.

The school is staffed by specialists in almost every field of the profession. It will serve as a training ground for doctors and nurses throughout South America.

Remember when Puerto Rico was called "the poorhouse of the Caribbean"? Things have changed.

This is one of a series of reports to U.S. industry on the economic and cultural development of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Manufacturers: send for illustrated report on productivity, profits and special incentives. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Dept. C7N, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10019.

← *The Nurses Dormitory of the new Medical Center of Puerto Rico.*

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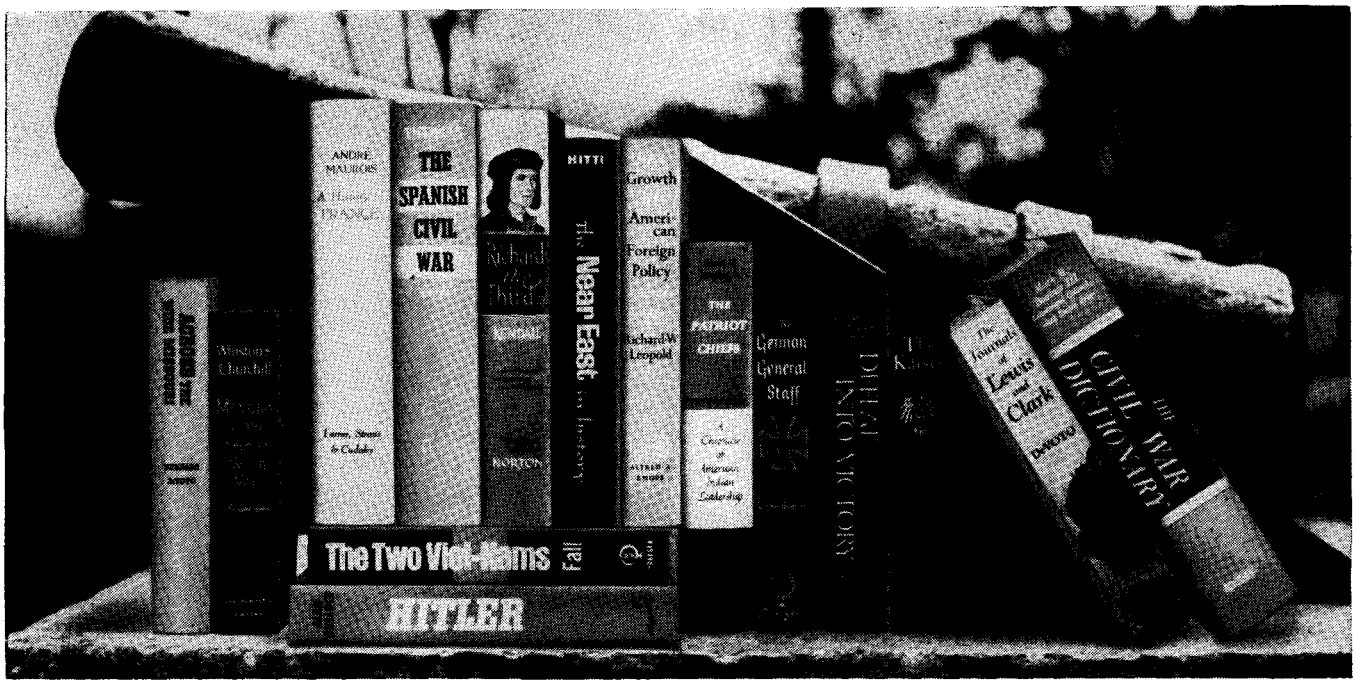

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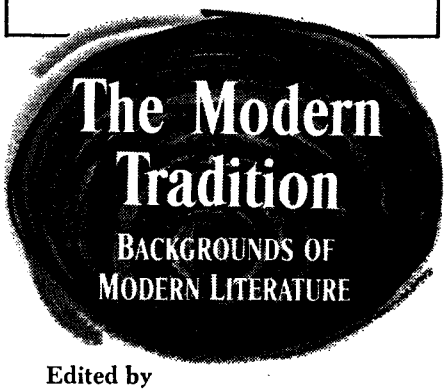

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

WHEN President Johnson delivered his memorable address to Congress on voting rights, there was great elation, certainly among the overwhelming majority of congressmen and in most of the country. This spirit **Max Ascoli** shared fully, accompanied by a realization of the historical gravity of the new law the President was advocating. In itself, the law is only the too long delayed fulfillment of the obligation formally stated in the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed to the Negroes the enjoyment of the most basic of the rights of citizenship. From now on, the Negro citizens who are at long last gaining the right to vote can exercise it effectively only if they become more secure in the community—economically and otherwise. Ultimately, this means that President Johnson's war on poverty has acquired a new urgency as far as a large number of Negro citizens are concerned.

There have been quite a number of marches organized by the civil-rights movement, and Negroes and whites alike have participated. The latest and most impressive of these has been the one from Selma to Montgomery, organized by civil-rights organizations that achieved some unity of purpose in the conduct of the demonstrations during weeks of trouble. Two of these groups are at odds, more on strategic than on tactical grounds. These strains have been observed at close range by **Paul Good**, a free-lance writer who covered the events in Selma from the outset.

THE MOUNTING and much-publicized pressures on the dollar and the pound, the world's two great reserve currencies, recall to many worried observers the disastrous monetary collapse of 1931. **Robert Triffin**, professor of economics at Yale University and author of the Triffin Plan for international monetary reform, explores the similarities and differences, and warns that unless remedial steps are taken, it could indeed happen again. . . . The French provincial election results prove once again that on the municipal level, personalities and local issues mean more than national party labels. Certainly the Gaullist party's showing does not reflect the strength that de Gaulle is expected to demonstrate in the December presidential balloting, **Edmond Taylor** reports from Paris. . . . The Johnson administration has given tremendous impetus to Federal involvement in a great variety of programs to improve our society, an effort that has often been accompanied by a tangle of red tape and crossed lines of responsibility. Another example of this pervasive problem is provided by **Jonathan Spivak**, a Washington reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*. . . . **Denis Warner**, who has been reporting on Vietnam for us for several years, tells of a figure who has appeared as a possible political leader in Saigon, and of the shifty techniques and programs of the Unified Buddhist movement—assuming there is one worthy of this name. . . . The bomb shelter, which seemed to have gone the way of the hula hoop, may be coming back. In an interview with staff writer **Elizabeth Brenner Drew**, Secretary McNamara explained why he places top priority on a civil-defense program, although he did not ask for any appropriation for it in the current budget.

AMONG her many books, **Dame Edith Sitwell** wrote *English Eccentrics* (Vanguard), in whose company, during her lifetime, many placed her along with her father. But the evidence of her experimentation—*Collected Poems, Song of the Cold* (Vanguard)—together with her work as historian and critic, sets her in a higher, enduring category. . . . Our unscientific commentator, **Fernando Krahn**, sees the moon as one thing, a star as another. . . . **Gerald Weales** teaches at the University of Pennsylvania. His most recent books are *A Play and Its Parts* (Basic) and *Miss Grimsbee Takes a Vacation* (Little, Brown). . . . **John M. Conly** is a former editor of *High Fidelity*. . . . The gentle glow that still lights the figure of Queen Victoria for her latest biographer does not do so for **Anthony West**, the author of *Heritage* (Random House and Pocket Books), *Principles and Persuasions* (Harcourt), and *The Trend Is Up* (Random House and Crest Paperbacks). . . . **Marcus Klein** teaches at Barnard and has written *After Alienation: American Novels in Mid-Century* (World). . . . **Bernard B. Fall**, the author of *The Two Viet-Nams: A Political and Military History* (Praeger), teaches at Howard University. . . . **John William Ward** is a member of the faculty at Amherst.

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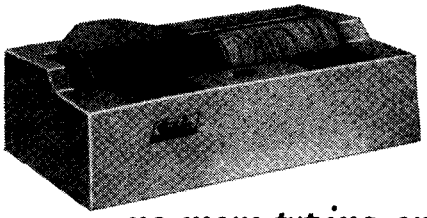

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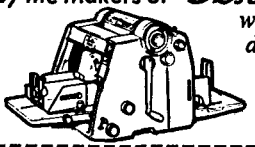

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APPALACHIAN APPLAUSE

To the Editor: Jerald ter Horst's "No More Pork Barrel: The Appalachian Approach" (*The Reporter*, March 11) was superb. The author related the political and economic content of President Johnson's Appalachian program with a precision not seen before. Had we been able to summarize as well ourselves, much of the confusion and misunderstanding that has marked the bill's progress through Congress could have been avoided.

JOHN L. SWEENEY, Chairman
Federal Development Planning
Committee for Appalachia
Washington

To the Editor: We on the staff of the Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia are in total agreement that Jerald ter Horst has written the first major article that has really captured the principal ideas behind the Appalachian program. Until now, no one has succeeded in seeing and describing the significance of the new Federal-state relationship possible in the program. Mr. ter Horst has also understood the potential of the public investment policies of the act. We hope that the results will lead to other Federal programs giving more responsibility to state and local governments.

STUART F. FELDMAN
Washington

To the Editor: I read Jerald ter Horst's article with great interest, and I believe that it is the best statement of the principles and intent of the Appalachia program that has yet been published. The concept of the Appalachian Regional Program is hard to understand for many—judging from the numerous questions I have been asked about it. I welcome this article because it will go a long way toward educating the public about the philosophy behind the program.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
The Under Secretary of Commerce

STORMY WEATHER

To the Editor: I don't quite know what to make of "The Cold Line Chill" ("The Reporter's Notes," March 11), especially with that "forecast" in the final sentence of "continued cloudiness over NASA." I should think it should be "continued cloudiness over Moscow," which seems unable to produce a weather satellite, while NASA has orbited ten since 1960.

Was NASA "cloudy" in the first place, for negotiating the weather agreement and setting up the "cold line" for data exchange? I don't think so. Who, in 1961 or 1962, would have predicted that the Russians would be unable to launch a weather satellite by 1964?

NASA is under many pressures from many different quarters. One of these pressures is for "international co-operation," and much of it comes from the liberal-liberal wing of the scientific community, which contains some of NASA's most deadly critics. To these people, "international co-operation" mainly seems to mean bilateral co-operation with Russia (NASA has bilateral and multilateral agreements, all apparently running smoothly, with about sixty-five other countries).

The cold line's "failure" should be an object lesson to those obsessed with the idea of international co-operation, especially in the narrow sense of bilateral ventures with the Soviet Union. Whether the cold line "works" or not, it doesn't cost the taxpayers very much. Our weather satellites exist anyway, for our own purposes—left untouched by the agreement. Nothing in the weather-satellite program ever depended on co-operation from the Russians. The cold-line agreement was just a way of being magnanimous and inviting the Russians aboard.

NICHOLAS ROSA
Menlo Park, California

PRO AND ANTI TSHOMBE

To the Editor: Russell Warren Howe's "The Eastern Congo's Chaotic Rebellion" (*The Reporter*, March 11) was a decidedly refreshing change from the trite anti-Tshombe or pro-Tshombe stereotypes in the press that have been pretending to portray the situation in that unhappy country since Moïse Tshombe came to power as premier. Mr. Howe's rational approach to the tribal rebellion and his rejection of the easy assumption that a full-scale and spontaneous nationalist insurrection is under way should help restore some needed balance to our understanding of a highly complex situation.

The soundness of Mr. Howe's premise has become increasingly evident from recent events, particularly in the aftermath of the meeting of the Organization for African Unity in Nairobi, Kenya, which saw many of the continent's political leaders turning away from the divisive tactics of Ben Bella, Nasser, and the like toward President Kasavubu's Congolese concept of internal security. The Ben Bellas and Nassers had their day last October at the Cairo Conference of Non-aligned Countries, where Tshombe was solemnly humiliated. Since then, the gross nature of militant extremism has aroused the suspicion and the reaction of the most influential African nation, Nigeria, which is the continent's most stable, most populous, and potentially most powerful state.

NATHANIEL J. TURNER
Springfield, Massachusetts

To the Editor: No one familiar with the Congo can disagree with Russell Warren Howe that there is an extremely important tribal element in the struggle. The participation of many of those

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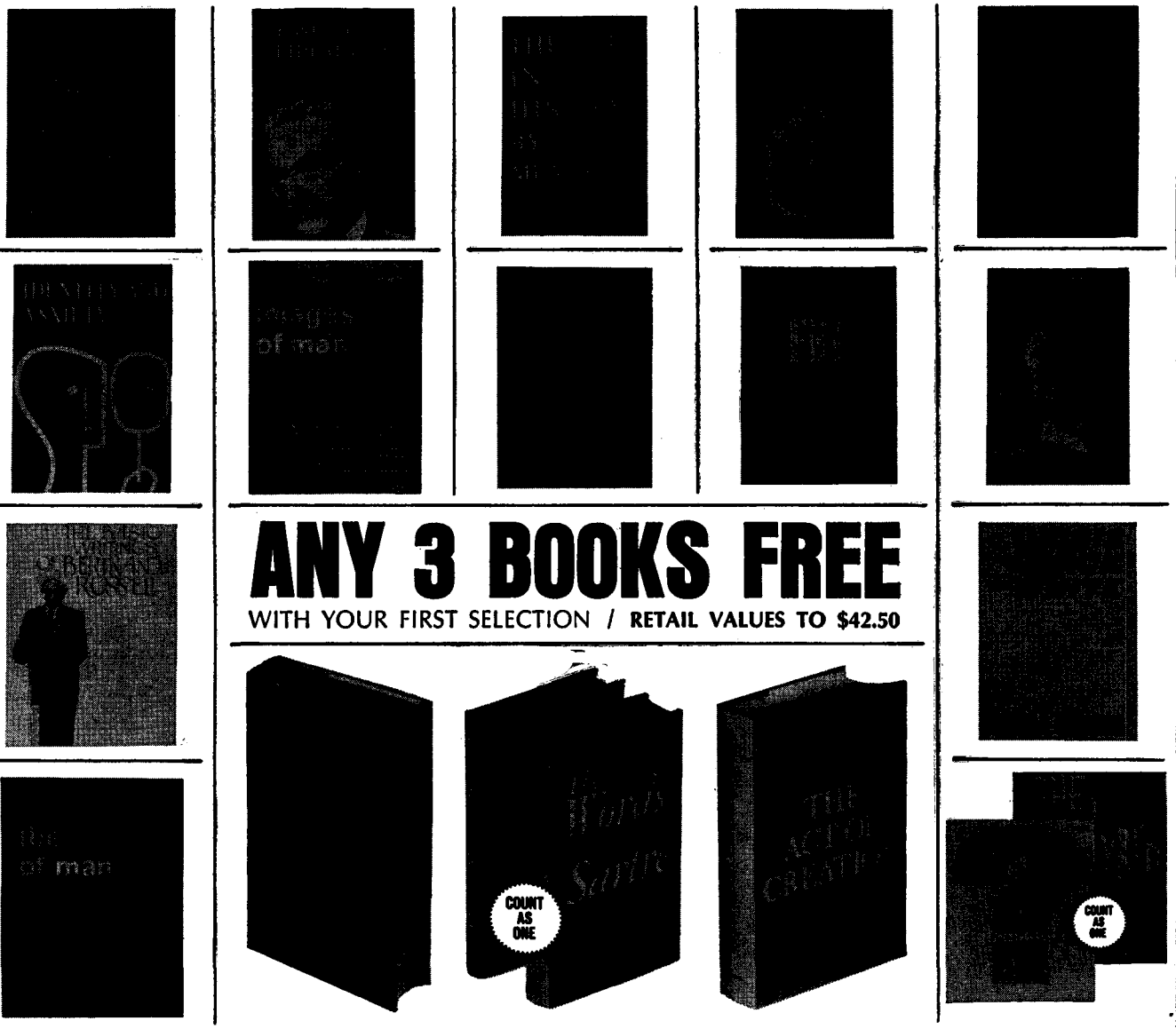

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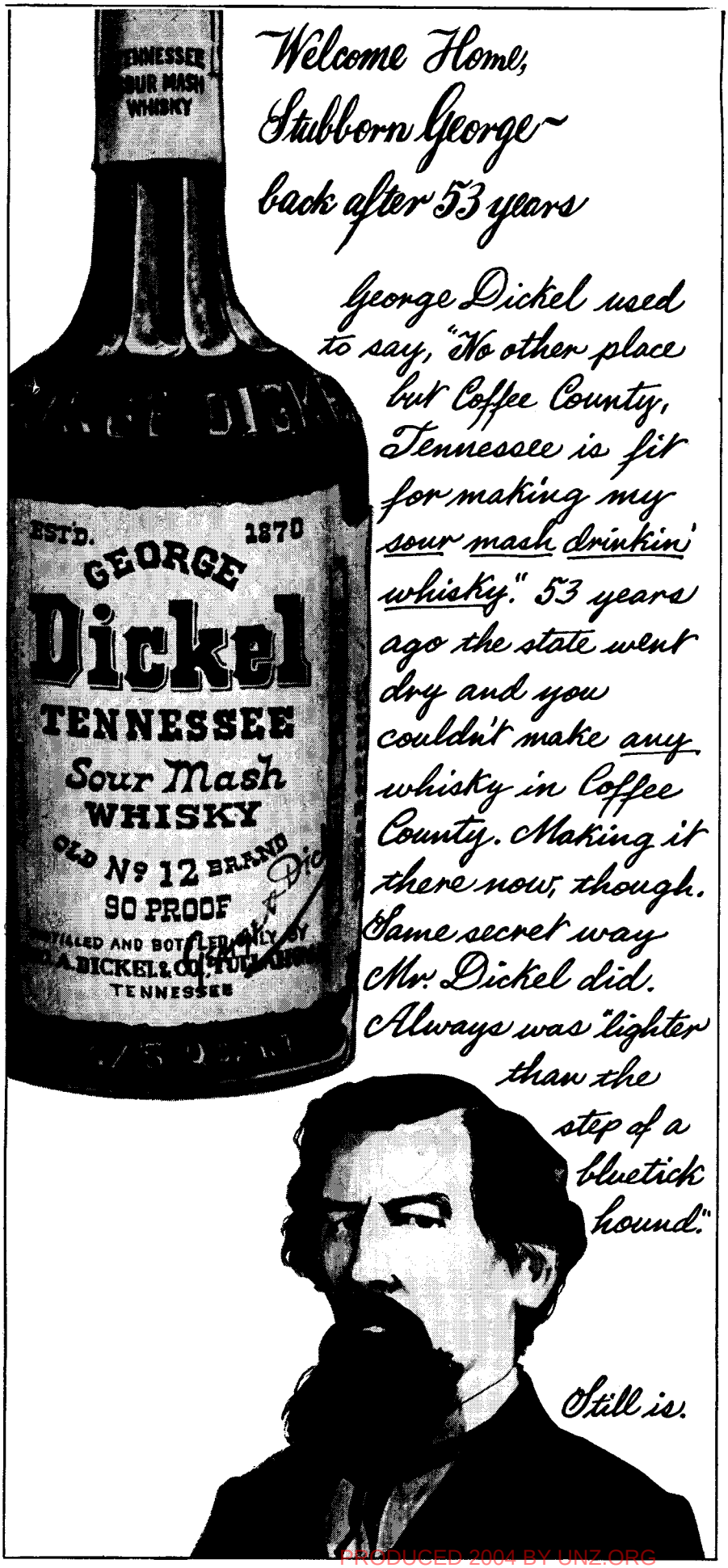
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fighting Premier Moïse Tshombe's troops and mercenaries is surely, as he correctly suggests, not motivated by dedication to Marxist ideology.

But despite this, Mr. Howe is more likely to mislead than to clarify our understanding of what is going on in the Congo. He may be correct in asserting that there is no coherence in the group actually fighting against the Léopoldville government, but if this is taken to imply that the over-all opposition to Premier Tshombe is not coherent, then a false inference will have been drawn. Almost all Africans who feel strongly about the undesirability of colonialism oppose Tshombe so strongly that they support any group which attacks him and, in equal measure, oppose any nation which supports him.

The implications in this for American policy in the Congo are quite different from those which Mr. Howe presents. He says that neither the Chinese nor anyone else is likely to influence "so primitive a movement" as that of the rebels, and the implication of this and the rest of his article seems to be that what happens to the rebellion is of no particular concern to this country except, perhaps, as a matter of keeping order since it is "only" a tribal war.

Our support for Tshombe is costing us dear in Africa. Not only are we losing the high opinion in which we were held by most of free Africa, but we are allowing the Chinese and others to pose successfully as the only real opponents of colonialism and its creatures. Removing Tshombe, or bringing about a significant change in his government, will not solve the multitude of problems which are the shameful heritage of Belgium's behavior in the Congo, but such removal or change is an essential first step in beginning to find solutions.

Marc Swartz
Department of Anthropology
African Studies Center
Michigan State University
East Lansing

A STRONG GRASP

To the Editor: Denis Warner's grasp of even the most complex developments in Southeast Asia has been convincingly demonstrated in your magazine for the past seven years. But I was not aware of his amazing versatility until the arrival of your March 11 issue. In "Australia Girds for Defense," Warner again proves his ability to perceive the regional situation while focusing on one aspect of it. Even more impressive was his instant and brilliant analysis of the most recent imbroglio of the Saigon generals, "The Coup Is Dead, Long Live the Coup!" To produce such dispassionate reporting before the confusion has subsided can only add to Mr. Warner's stature as one of the top-ranking correspondents in the most critical area of the world today.

Harold Blevins
Chicago

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When you find out what television has to offer this month, you'll probably view things differently.

Bach Cantata No. 199
Swiss soprano Maria Stader sings Bach's last cantata. Alfredo Antonini conducts.
Sunday, April 4 (10-10:30 AM)

The Twentieth Century
Isaac Stern; Norman Thomas; The Supersonic Jet Race; Invasion of Sicily.
Sundays, April 4, 11, 18, 25 (6-6:30 PM)

Profiles in Courage
Grover Cleveland; John Quincy Adams; John Marshall; Benjamin Barr Lindsey.
Sundays, April 4, 11, 18, 25 (6:30-7:30 PM)

The General
A study of the career and personal life of Douglas MacArthur. Van Heflin, host-narrator.
Sunday, April 4 (7:30-8:30 PM)

The "Oscar" Award Presentations
From Santa Monica Civic Auditorium with Bob Hope, master of ceremonies.
"Oscar" copyright AMPAS
Monday, April 5 (10 PM-conclusion)

White Paper: Terror in the Streets
Examines crimes of violence in this country, and the public attitude.
Tuesday, April 6 (10-11 PM)

The Holy Terror
Original drama based on the life of Florence Nightingale, starring Julie Harris.
Wednesday, April 7 (7:30-9 PM)

Custer to the Little Big Horn
The complex man, the era he symbolized and the significance of his defeat.
Friday, April 9 (7:30-8:30 PM)
Repeated Sunday, April 18 (4-5 PM)

Mission to Malaya
Documents the experiences of two Peace Corps nurses in an under-developed area.
Saturday, April 10 (9:30-10:30 PM)

The Final Ingredient
Passover opera commemorating Jewish Festival of Freedom.
Sunday, April 11 (1-2 PM)

FDR Remembered
Personal glimpses of President Roosevelt as recalled by his friends and family.
Monday, April 12 (10-10:30 PM)

Telephone Hour
Olivia de Havilland, hostess, in tribute to "Spring." With Richard Tucker, Dorothy Collins and Mormon Tabernacle Choir.
Tuesday, April 13 (10-11 PM)

The Embattled Bastion on 42nd Street
The United Nations and its problems. Richard Hottelet, reporter.
Monday, April 19 (10-11 PM)

Our Man in Washington
A look at the capital, with David Brinkley.
Tuesday, April 20 (10-11 PM)

My Name Is Barbra
Musical special starring Broadway and recording star Barbra Streisand.
Wednesday, April 28 (9-10 PM)

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That Was the Week That Was

Wednesdays:
ABC Scope

Saturdays:
Sunrise Semester/ Mr. Mayor/ Wide World of Sports/ Mr. Magoo

Sundays:
Lamp Unto My Feet/ Look Up and Live/ Bullwinkle/ Camera Three/ Discovery/ Face the Nation/ Watch Mr. Wizard/ Directions/ Issues and Answers/ Frontiers of Faith/ Sunday/ Sports in Action/ Science All Stars/ College Bowl/ Twentieth Century/ Meet the Press/ Walt Disney

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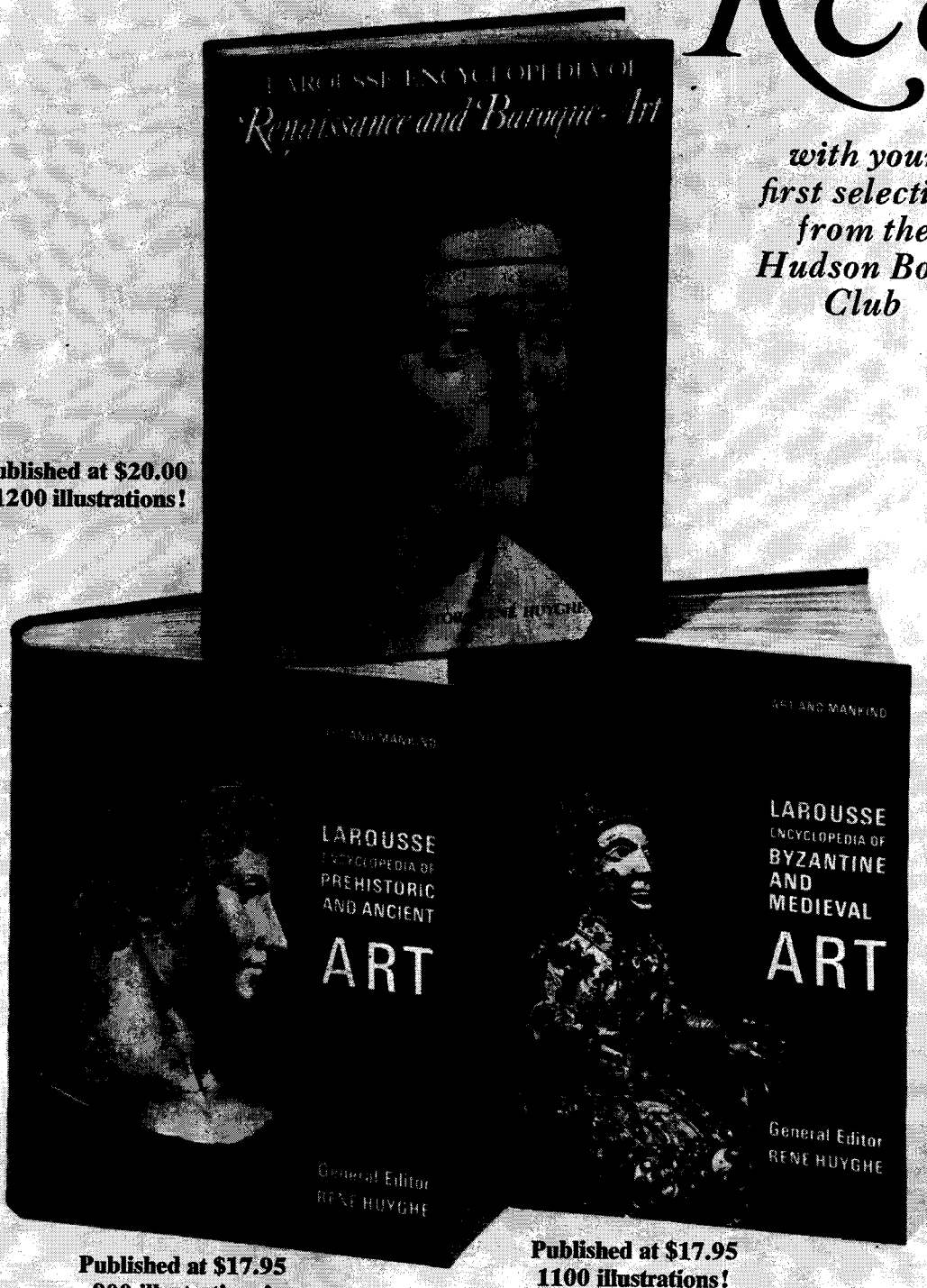

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Unrequited Friendship

PARIS

The China-appeasement lobby in NATO has recently had a series of jolts where its feelings are most sensitive—in the region of the pocketbook. The worst shock was the publication here of a detailed and singularly uninhibited Communist Chinese program for political and economic warfare against the entire West, including even such apologetic neo-colonialists as Britain and France. The document in question was the official text, originally published in English by the Peking *Review*, of an address delivered at the Afro-Asian economic seminar in Algiers last February by Nan Han-chen, the chief Chinese delegate. The impact of Nan's speech was heightened by the appearance of extracts on the front page of *Le Monde*, the leading apostle of neutralism in the French press, with interpretive comments by its Chinese expert, Robert Guillain.

"In lighting the flame of the liberation struggle throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America," Guillain explains, Red China "intends to strike a decisive blow at the economic positions of the imperialist West. The aim is to cut off at the source its supply of raw materials, including in particular such vital ones as oil, uranium, and rare metals."

The program, Guillain concedes, is a "veritable combat manifesto" implying unrelenting prosecution of the cold war throughout the "third world" in the form of an "economic war of liberation." While none of the Chinese aims outlined at Algiers came as a surprise to western intelligence experts or even moderately well-informed journalists, they had never before been stated quite so frankly or with so much detail. "To our knowledge this is the first time that Red China has been heard talking petroleum," Guillain commented. To French left-wing idealists, "talking petroleum" means speaking the same sordid language as capitalistic imperialists.

That China's economic-warfare targets include many of importance to our allies as well as to the United States is clearly indicated in Nan's statement that "six imperialist nations almost completely monopolize the rare metals of Africa which supply their war industries and atomic armament." Nan's sideswipe at de Gaulle's *force de frappe* was particularly noted here.

NATO economic-warfare experts are divided in their evaluation of the danger to the West from Red China's "economic war of liberation" in the underdeveloped countries. Some believe that the quieter and usually more cautious techniques of Soviet subversion are a good deal deadlier. The idea that the Chinese might succeed during the foreseeable future in cutting off the West's supply of strategic raw materials is ridiculed. Such talk, one NATO expert declared, simply illustrates the propaganda techniques by which the paper dragon puffs itself up to look formidable when in fact it is both militarily and economically feeble. "The Chinese use the same method in hypnotizing western businessmen with the lure of a $700-million consumer market," the expert said. "The fact is that Belgium today is four times as big a market as China and is growing faster—or rather is growing fast while China shrinks, since China buys less from Western Europe than it did five years ago."

On the other hand, the NATO specialists admit that by instigating the confiscation of western investments, as in Cuba and Indonesia, the Communists create a worldwide atomsphere of insecurity that might have a grave psychological impact on the capitalist system everywhere if allowed to go on indefinitely. The contagion of such examples is particularly dangerous, and some at NATO argue that if President Johnson had not called a halt to the western retreat from Asia, the consequences might have been disastrous to western prosperity as well as in other ways.

Another jolt to the appeasers here—though it was political rather than economic—was the publication of an exclusive interview given the correspondent of the left-wing weekly *Nouvel Observateur* by Chou En-lai in which de Gaulle's pet idea of a five-power conference to reform the U.N. was politely kicked in the teeth. "These five powers have no right to decide the world's affairs," Chou said. "All the countries, big and small, must get together for that."

Finally there was the symbolic misadventure, revealed by the progovernmental *France-Soir*, that befell three Paris department stores, the Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville, Prisunic, and Printemps, that had recently featured lavishly advertised displays of Chinese imports. "At the Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville there are two million microbes to the square meter," reported the correspondent of the Peking *Ta Kung Pao*, according to *France-Soir*. "At Prisunic the bosses behave indecently and are worse than jailers. At the Printemps working conditions are twice as hard as before the war."

"Lies, lies" an unidentified department-store executive told *France-Soir*. "Our salesgirls are treated most humanely! This is a fine reward for having recognized China."

—EDMOND TAYLOR

Bunglers of the World, Unite

"One sometimes hears even highly placed officials ask whether all this big spending on space is really necessary," complained an Air Force lieutenant general not long ago. The officer then invoked in space spending's defense a sentence that

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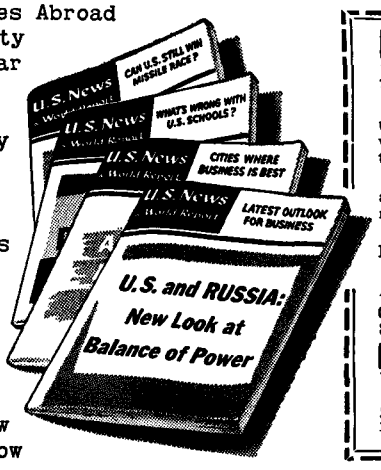

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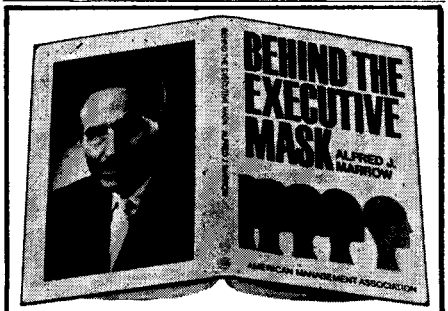

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NASA Administrator James Webb is also fond of using. "They used to criticize aviation in its early days and look where it is now," he said. We call this rather commonplace remark to your attention only because the general involved was none other than N.P. Kamanin, commander of the Soviet cosmonauts, and the moaning took place in the publication *Red Star*. To judge from such comments in the Soviet press these days, the fashionable notion that we are losing the race for competence, planning, and purpose in scientific endeavors may be due for a little rethinking.

Since Soviet space triumphs are alleged to be evidence of Communist achievement, it isn't safe to criticize them much, but bungling in terrestrial science appears to be under unprecedented attack. It began a few months ago with the case of Dr. Ivan D. Khristoforov, a doctor of veterinary medicine at the Saratov Institute of Animal Health, who had succeeded in turning a sow's ear into a research-grant purse. "The apex of his research," sneered *Izvestia* somewhat in the manner of the New York *Daily News*, "was to fire shotgun blasts through ear lobes of piglets. He established that 'the animals exhibited a certain anxiety.'" (Ostensibly the professor was seeking means of treating animal shotgun wounds.) "His total 'scientific production' in the past seventeen years amounted to 30½ typewritten pages," *Pravda* chimed in.

The Khristoforov case "is far from unique," said *Izvestia*. The paper is now demanding that loopholes in Soviet labor laws be closed to rid the country of "fools with all kinds of scientific degrees."

At the same time, the Soviet press launched an attack on other failings of Russia's big science, such as lack of co-ordination, duplication, and "localism." *Izvestia* brought out the fact that most scientists' research is confined to the geographical territory covered by their institutions: "A specialist in ants at the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences can study these insects only within the confines of the Kirghiz Republic." Since insects and animals refuse to fit into the administrative frontiers set up by the bureaucrats,

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studies of pests such as grasshoppers which attack crops around the country are being neglected.

To overcome the co-ordination problem, the Russians recently established special co-ordinating committees to oversee scientific research. But now even these committees are being criticized for lack of expertise. "What sort of co-ordination of biological research can we expect in the Kirghiz Republic from a committee that has no biologists on its staff?" asks a scientist writing in *Izvestia.*

Similarly, rushing into "hardware" development without appropriate prior research turns out not to be an American monopoly after all. Among the many "serious failings" of the All-Union Institute for Automation of Agriculture, *Pravda* lists the design of "half-baked" machines. "Of forty-eight machines designed by the Institute in the past two years, only one is being mass-produced." Moreover, "The Institute has largely failed to mechanize its own experiment stations. It harvests sugar beets and milks most of its cows by hand."

Pravda then added a complaint that, to our mind, confirms once and for all the universality of modern big science and its procedures: "The Institute scientists seldom visit the experiment stations, but 504 of them in the past three years finagled expense-paid trips to an Institute branch in the Caucasus where it's cool in the summer."

"It is time to stop protecting ignorance in science and technology," *Izvestia* has concluded, rather as Representative Melvin Price (D., Illinois) has declared: "The honeymoon is over in research and development." We only hope that Representative Price takes heart from the knowledge that if indeed there is a bungle gap, we may well be on the right side of it.

Capitol Crime

Even under a President as anxious to shape and control all legislation as Lyndon Johnson, Congress, we are happy to note, has retained its capacity for unpredictable initiative. Just the other day, for example, the House decided to do something about crime in the District of Co-

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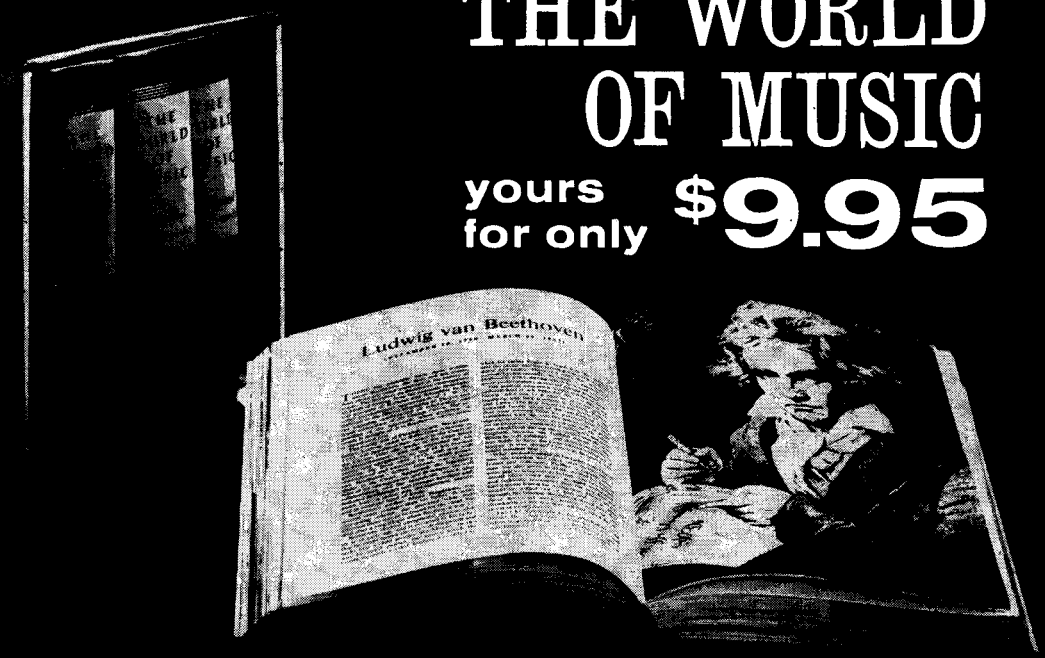

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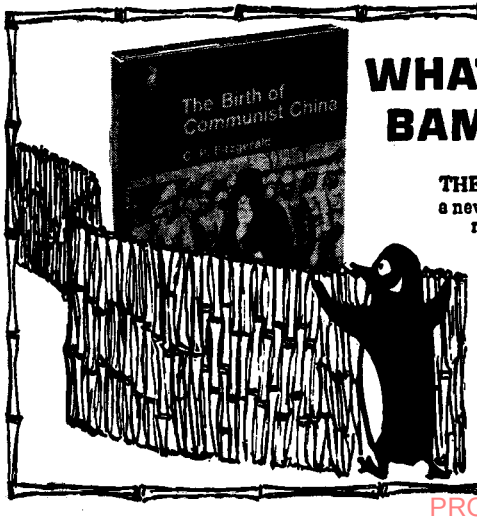

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lumbia. Since the District is a Federal responsibility, President Johnson had proposed to establish a commission to study the problem, but the District of Columbia Committee, which remains in the control of Southern conservatives, was not enthusiastic over the President's approach. So anxious was the committee to stamp out crime in the capital that it could not even be bothered with hearings.

Over the protests of the committee's liberal minority, a remarkable crime bill was brought to the House floor for approval. Among other things, the measure authorized prolonged detention and interrogation of suspects, and flouted established procedures for pleading insanity as a defense. It provided for arbitrary arrest of anyone the police had "reasonable ground to believe" was about to commit a crime or who might be a material witness; and it offered a broad obscenity statute complete with provisions for prior censorship and seizure of the presses.

"District Day," that every second Monday when the 435-member House is supposed to turn its attention to such matters as parking-meter repairing and dog leashing in Washington, is usually a time which congressmen devote to the business of their own constituencies. Therefore, only a handful were on the floor to hear the proponents' soothing assurances that the bill was in no way "directed against any class, any creed, or any color of our citizens." Similarly, they missed the opponents' arguments that the bill was full of unconstitutionalities. When the bells rang for a roll-call vote, members who had missed the debate cast their votes against crime, passing the bill by a 250-131 margin.

The Senate usually squelches such House frolics, and the Washington *Post* observed that the House bill "can only be understood if it is regarded as a vote of confidence in the Senate." In any case, as Basil L. Whitener (D., North Carolina), chairman of the subcommittee that drafted the bill, told the House in urging its passage, "No one has said that this legislation would in any way bring about more crime."

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The Boundaries of the Permissible

HERE they are, the days of reckoning after the pledges too long unkept, the stormy events that have been in the making for decades and threaten to usher us into greater convulsions. No one has better expressed this condition of things than U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., in his opinion allowing the march from Selma to Montgomery. The march, he said, "reaches . . . to the outer limits of what is constitutionally allowed. However, the wrongs and injustice inflicted upon these plaintiffs . . . have clearly exceeded—and continue to exceed—the outer limits of what is constitutionally permissible."

The "right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances," heads the Bill of Rights, but in the course of time it had become somewhat archaic, for the right to vote has provided the citizens of the United States with a far more sophisticated system to express and redress their grievances—all the citizens of the United States, except a large number of Negroes living in a few Southern states. Ninety-five years after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress is now getting around to making these people into full citizens.

Millions of men of many races had acquired the fullness of political rights as the Constitution had prescribed. It has never happened that a President had to go to Congress to ask that the right to vote be extended to any category of citizens —not to the Irish, not to the Germans or Poles or Russians or Italians, and not to the Jews. Nothing of the kind was ever conceivable before President Johnson went to Congress on March 15 to plead eloquently the case of the Negroes.

It was a magnificent thing for the President to do; and the response of Congress—the legislation proposed a few days later by the Congressional leaders of both parties —is evidence of our government's determination to bring an end to what, for too long, has been a disgraceful chapter of national history. But the righting of wrongs that have become so rooted must be accompanied by the full awareness of the risks involved. What is ahead of us is like a major surgical operation that must be performed faultlessly and then followed by the utmost post-operative vigilance.

THERE SEEMS to be nearly universal agreement in government that to repair ancient inequities, the effort to educate and train all Negroes for useful jobs, including the job of active citizenship, must be intense and sustained. It is not just a matter of atoning for our forefathers' fault, but of caring for ourselves, the living Americans, and for our children, black and white. Yet it must be recognized that the isolation of the Negro from the rest of the national community may actually be heightened by this effort to eliminate it. It is already an ominous sign that in the legislation proposed by the President, Negroes can bypass the hurdle of literacy to acquire their voting rights. True, it is possible that given the present educational standards of the Negroes in some Southern states, a bare minimum of reading ability is all that can be asked of them. But wouldn't the result be a debasement of the qualification for voting in the rest of the country?

We may be prolonging the segregation of the Negroes by considering them a cohesive group, as if the color of their skin meant an identity of purpose and outlook. Our ultimate aim can be no other than to see that each Negro is considered by others, and considers himself, as a person whose individuality cannot be preconditioned or prejudged because of the group in which he happens to be born.

The outward instrument of this inner freedom is the exercise of the right to vote. But we know enough about how this right is practiced in most sections of the country by whites and Negroes alike to entertain utopian notions about the immediate impact of its liberating, sovereign virtue. The right to vote is a marketable pawn of political power, eagerly sought after by pawnbrokers. It can never be sold irrevocably, but it takes skill, aside from some literacy, to know how to use it. Its effectiveness is related to the degree of independence and security its holder has. To let the so far disenfranchised Negroes gain the right to vote is essential, but if they have no jobs, no aptitude for any, and no individual privacy, there is the danger that the only thing for them to do will be to sell wholesale the vote which, to repair old wrongs, they are now being given wholesale.

SHOULD this happen to the newly enfranchised Negroes, should the fleeting moment spent in the voting booth be just as a passing relief from misery, then this belated piece of legislation would prove to have been a sham. This daring effort at lawmaking will test our free institutions on a most underprivileged mass of citizens. It is a last attempt to let all Negroes, free to develop their potential, become full members of our political community. Should it fail—should we fail—the sufferer would be not only the Negro but America and the civilization for which we are supposed to stand.

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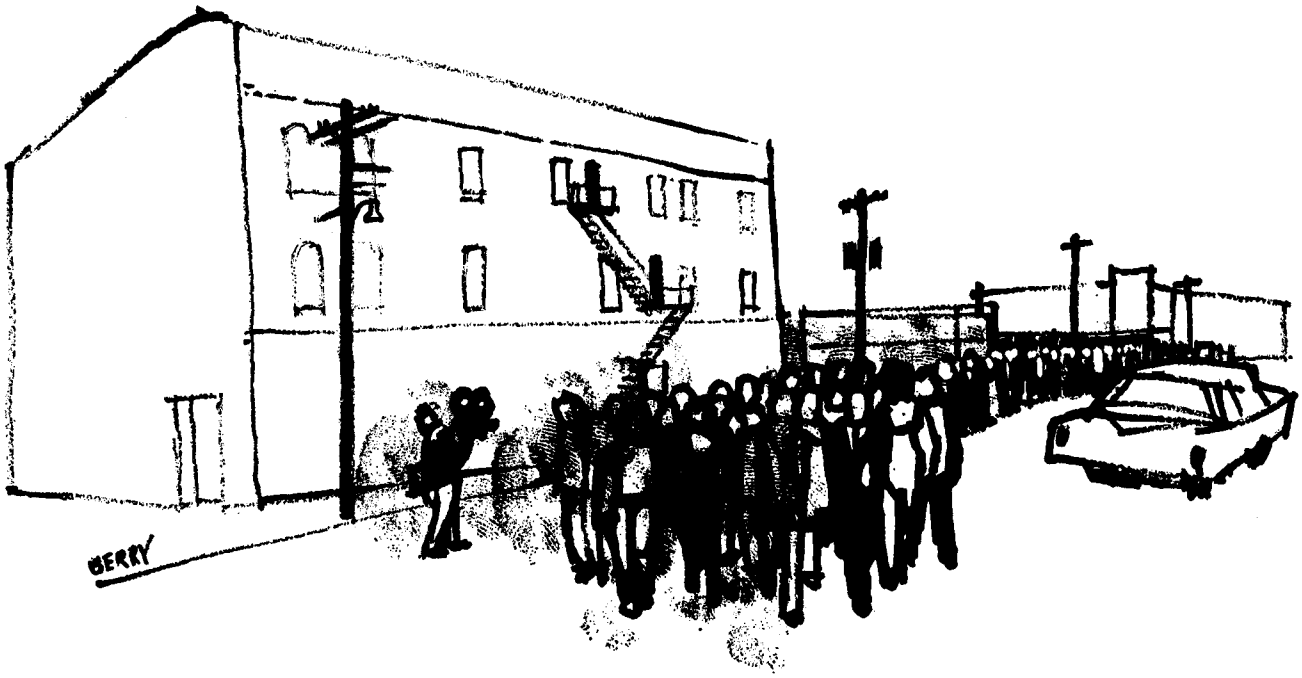

Beyond the Bridge

PAUL GOOD

SELMA, ALABAMA

THE LOBBY of the Hotel Albert has not changed greatly in more than a century. Slave labor installed its thirty-foot oaken columns and sweeping staircase, and today, despite modern improvements, mementos of the Old South are carefully preserved. In one of the public rooms a reproduction of an old poster advertises "Chancery Sale of eight likely Negroes. Consisting of three likely young girls from twelve to fourteen; one likely boy about sixteen; one stout likely man about twenty-five years. . . . These Negroes will be sold on credit until 30 Nov., 1859." The illusion of graciousness came into conflict with reality on January 18 when the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King walked into the lobby and was struck on the cheek by a white supremacist. But, however reluctantly, the hotel has kept up with the times: Dr. King was given a room.

The Albert is both a reminder of Selma's picturesque past and a symbol of its troubled present. In 1860, when cotton was king and Selma had eighteen millionaires, the newly built hotel was a center of the city's fashionable life. In 1964, with cotton something less than a prince and modern, aseptic motels drawing away its guests, the Albert was about to be demolished when a group of local businessmen undertook to recondition the building without sacrificing its ante-bellum charm. They were trying at the same time to change the façade of Selma itself, and they thought they had a plan to keep the best of both worlds.

This, as it turned out, was the self-deception at the heart of Selma's tragedy. The customers of restaurants that had agreed with city officials to serve Negroes testing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were handed a reassuring leaflet: "We are confident that sanity and good sense will return and that we will be able to revert in time to our long-established customs and traditions."

Pursuing the Yankee Dollar

Thanks to the Alabama River Project, with its gift of plentiful electric power and a possible revival of the river trade, Selma stood on the brink of industrial and civic renascence. In pre-Civil War days it had been a wealthy banking and trade center, renowned for its genteel elegance. Now it was competing with hundreds of other Southern communities to attract Northern industries by offering tax concessions and tractable labor. But Selma suffered in this competition because of its history of bad race relations. More than half of the 57,000 inhabitants of Dallas County, of which Selma is the county seat, are Negro, yet among those of voting age, only two per cent are registered. The city had been a natural target for the civil-rights movement. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had moved in early in 1963 attempting to register voters. Rights volunteers were frequently arrested and complained of a unique form of harassment by local deputies: snakes were "draped" over them when they attempted to register Negroes at the county courthouse. Selma made national headlines last July, when Dallas County Sheriff James G. Clark violently dispersed Negro demonstrators. It was known that Dr. King planned to revive civil-rights agita-

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tion in Selma around the first of this year.

The old-line politicians who had run the town for thirty years approved Sheriff Clark's methods of dealing with Negroes and civil-rights workers. To the young businessmen concerned with revitalizing Selma, however, a new approach was clearly needed. The white community was thus divided into what might be called stubbornly old-fashioned and reluctantly modern groups, though both were segregationist. In last fall's elections the progressives successfully backed thirty-five-year-old Joseph Smitherman for mayor. One of his first acts was to undercut Sheriff Clark's influence by creating the post of Commissioner of Public Safety and giving the job to Wilson Baker, a police officer with long experience in Selma and a reputation for fairness. Clark had defeated Baker in a close race for sheriff, and there was no love lost between them.

Baker, a former professional baseball player, had taught law enforcement at the University of Alabama. He is a big, open-hearted man, with a look of dependability and an easy way with the press. The business group hoped that he would be able to keep the heavy-handed Clark out of the picture and, by a restrained handling of the demonstrations expected after the arrival of Dr. King, avoid harmful national publicity.

"We hope this is going to be the most disappointing trip of your life," Baker said genially to newsmen on January 18, the day Dr. King came to test public accommodations. "We intend to enforce the law impartially and there is complete co-operation between the city and Sheriff Clark."

Tribal Loyalties

It didn't work that way. There was a point in mid-February when Negro leaders might have pulled out of Selma in exchange for a statement from Mayor Smitherman advocating full voting rights for Negroes. But both the whites and the Negroes were divided into militant and moderate camps, and in the end the moderates of both sides were subjected to more pressure than they could stand.

The editor of the segregationist Selma *Times-Journal,* whose reporting has been detailed and scrupulous, summed up white attitudes more accurately than Baker had. As Dr. King led the first demonstration downtown, he said, "If we can only get the bastards out of town without getting them arrested, we'll have 'em whipped."

Baker and the city authorities could not stop Sheriff Clark from arresting Negroes, first by the dozen, then by the hundreds, when they demonstrated before the county courthouse. Contempt citations were handed down by Circuit Court Judge James Hare, who theorized that Selma's troubles were more tribal than racial. "You see," he explained to me, "most of your Selma Negroes are descended from the Ebo and Angola tribes of Africa. You could never teach or trust an Ebo back in slave days, and even today I can spot their tribal characteristics. They have protruding heels, for instance."

Mayor Smitherman refused to confer with Negro leaders. While he talked about new plants coming to Selma, he was silent about what jobs Negroes might find in the new industries. Dr. King was quick to reply: "The city is trying to rebuild its image in an attempt to attract new industry, but we must make it clear there can be no stability in Selma until democracy is a reality." Meanwhile, Commissioner Baker privately called the mayor "gutless" and threatened to resign when Smitherman showed signs of giving in to Sheriff Clark's supporters and withdrawing his opposition to Clark's tactics. But Baker himself arrested Dr. King and three hundred followers on February 1 for violating a parade ordinance.

A turning point was reached on the night of February 18 in Marion, the seat of neighboring Perry County. SNCC's voting drive had expanded from Selma into surrounding counties where not a single Negro had been registered since Reconstruction days. In Marion, as state troopers clubbed Negro demonstrators back into a meeting hall, a twenty-six-year-old workman named Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot by a trooper and then beaten unconscious. He died eight days later. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Martin Luther King's organization, immediately set about organizing a protest march to the state capitol in Montgomery. And the march, which was twice turned back after crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma before it was attempted again by thousands of demonstrators on March 21, brought out into the open the discord that had long been developing among the civil-rights groups.

BOTH SNCC and Dr. King's SCLC are militant groups. The two had stood shoulder to shoulder in the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963, which, it is widely claimed, were instrumental in producing the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But SNCC had been evolving a program quite different from Dr. King's. Its leaders questioned the value of quick, scattered demonstrations. They advocated permanently based efforts within the community to educate, register, and organize Southern Negroes.

The men who shape SNCC policy have been working in Mississippi for the past two years. They are dedicated and filled with the arrogance of youth—the youth of both races, from both North and South. Throughout SNCC's ranks runs an almost anarchical strain, consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the thinking of Jean-Paul Sartre. Each community, they hold, must reach its own individual solution. They have a youthful resistance to authority, whether that authority be a SNCC official in Atlanta or Dr. Martin Luther King. Anyone who will fight for "freedom" is welcome. SNCC has never barred Communists and is contemptuous of any who denounce their influence.

SNCC workers have been called beatniks and accused of sloppy dress, casual hygiene, and sexual promiscuity, interracial and otherwise. They reply that it is nobody's business but their own how they act. (There has, however, been an attempt at self-policing in some communities.) Their contempt for bourgeois values has been seized on, inevitably, by enemies of the rights movement, as well as by rival groups within it.

Groups like the NAACP and the Urban League have found SNCC virtually impossible to work with. SNCC, for its part, characterizes the moderates as Uncle Toms. It is particularly galling to some SNCC leaders that Dr. King gets the headlines and

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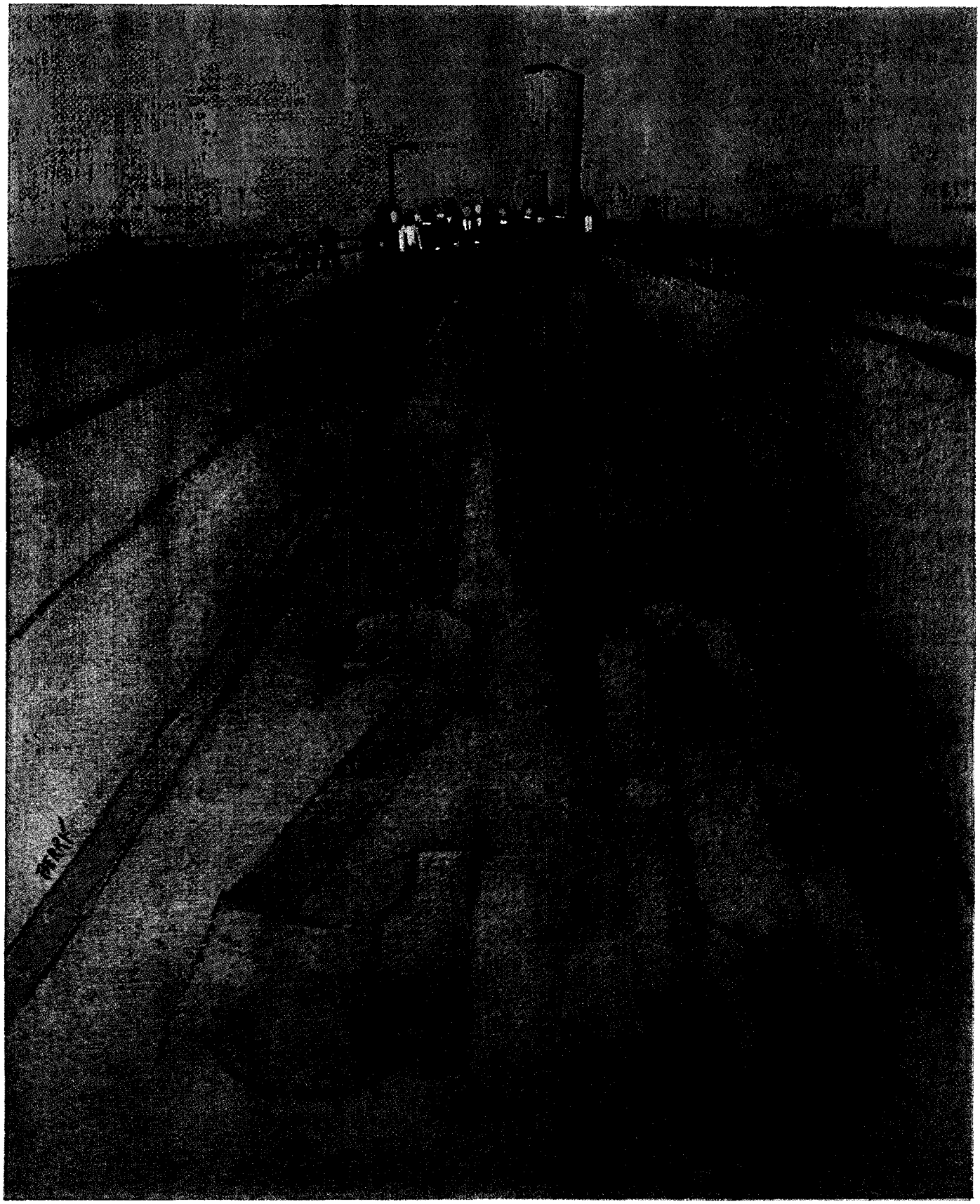

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the international prestige, that his entree to the White House enables him to use situations like Selma to achieve significant national gains that SNCC leaders, who have been working in these communities longer, have failed to obtain. Some SCLC leaders, though notably not Dr. King himself, have accused the SNCC workers of irresponsibility and "foolish radicalism." SNCC's chairman, John Lewis, concedes that many in his organization are contemptuous of King and his methods. But he expresses no such contempt himself and is quick to say that the two groups will continue to co-operate.

Marching to Montgomery

When the march to Montgomery was announced for March 6, SNCC leaders opposed it on grounds that SCLC had imposed it without local support and that it would be too dangerous. They argued that it would be better to stick to the voter-registration drive. Nevertheless, John Lewis accepted SCLC's invitation to lead the march "in the interest of unity." Dr. King had been advised by Attorney General Katzenbach not to take part, though he insisted later that if he had known violence was coming, he would not have pleaded a previous commitment in Atlanta at his Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Thus Lewis was in the forefront at the Edmund Pettus Bridge on March 6, when state troopers and Sheriff Clark's mounted posse charged the marchers, clubbed them down, and choked them with more than fifty canisters of tear gas and smoke bombs. The fatal beating of one of the marchers, Reverend James Reeb of Boston, on March 9 fired demands for a new march. When it was proposed, in the face of an injunction from Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson and personal pleas from the Attorney General, Dr. King and his followers were at first undecided. SNCC's position, however, was now reversed, with Lewis insisting that the march be held. "It's a people's movement," he said. "No group, no person can dictate."

President Johnson was urging restraint. Aides of Dr. King described how he "agonized" over the decision. King's closest adviser, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, later gave this account to a church meeting: "Monday night the Attorney General was on the phone begging and pleading with Dr. King not to march. But at four o'clock that morning, the committee made up its mind. We told Dr. King to tell Mr. Katzenbach "we're sick and tired of being nice little Negroes." Abernathy's account, made after SNCC-SCLC disagreement became apparent, stressed the "committee" aspect of the decision. However, a reporter who was there said that following hours of debate, Dr. King asked everyone to leave him alone to make the decision. Many conflicting situations had to be taken into account, including the fact that supporters were pouring into Selma from all over the country prepared to march.

LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service established by the Civil Rights Act, and John Doar, in charge of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, tried to dissuade Dr. King from leading the march. King felt that he must. Collins worked out the eventual solution: the troopers would not use violence, he promised, if Dr. King would turn back with his followers after a confrontation on the other side of the bridge. Dr. King had never defied a Federal court order and he felt he must give some ground. His followers, however, did not know about this understanding and set off determined to reach Montgomery.

When the column of marchers, including hundreds of ministers and public figures from all over the nation, met the wall of troopers, knelt to pray, and were then led back over the bridge, most of them were confused. SNCC's James Forman was furious. He felt, and not without reason, that both the march and the troopers' prearranged co-operation were staged for the benefit of prominent out-of-town supporters: "Suppose Negroes decided right now to go back across that bridge with no white people with them. I wonder what the result would be."

White ministers became aware of the conflict and some reportedly left rather than take sides. The Reverend Henri Stines, Southern director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, said: "There *was* some frustration about it. I and others were prepared to march on. But after Dr. King explained we had made our point without needlessly flouting the law, the people understood it better."

In fact, many did not understand. There were tense moments when young people, urged on by SNCC leaders, almost clashed in the streets with troopers during a procession mourning James Reeb's death.

But the internal crisis passed without a showdown between SNCC and the moderates. President Johnson's moving message (Dr. King is said to have wept during the speech) urging passage of the kind of voting bill that Negro leaders had long been demanding was regarded as a triumph for Dr. King's strategy. Legal obstacles to the march to Montgomery were removed. Once again the bridge was crossed, and this time John Lewis marched across it at the side of Dr. King.

DISCORDANT notes continue to issue from individuals within their groups, and these indications of conflict have been heavily stressed in the press. The Reverend Jefferson P. Rogers, president of the Washington affiliates of SCLC, who was active in securing help from the White House and the Justice Department for Alabama Negroes and civil-rights workers, has accused SNCC of being "more interested in protest than achievement." His aim, he declares, is "to move Negroes to the center of American culture." This is in sharp contrast to SNCC leader James Forman, who, speaking in the Baptist church in Montgomery of forthcoming help from Washington, declared: "They say they want us to sit down at the table with them, but I want to kick the —— legs off the table." (He explained the next day that he meant only that he wanted to get rid of the rotten legs—not smash up the furniture.) Martin Luther King listened impassively to Forman's long and violent speech. When he got up to address the crowd, he repeated several times that protests must be carried on "peacefully and in a non-violent way."

How many more bridges will be crossed before it is clear whether groups attracting men of such opposing views can continue to march in step?

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Will 1965 Repeat 1931?

ROBERT TRIFFIN

PRESIDENT JOHNSON, in his February 10 message to Congress on the balance of payments and our gold position, agreed in effect with President de Gaulle that the international monetary system of the 1920's "brought us all to disaster in the early 1930's." The area of agreement unfortunately stops there.

President de Gaulle is convinced that the system that failed us then was a so-called "gold-exchange" or "key-currencies" standard, very similar to the present one, except that the dollar has now replaced sterling in the driver's seat of the old key-currency tandem. He fears that the new system will lead us to a similar collapse, and wants it to undergo drastic surgery before it is too late.

Mr. Johnson and the U.S. Treasury have no such fears. To them, what failed in 1931 was not the gold-exchange standard but the gold standard, which they think is precisely what de Gaulle wishes to restore. We should, instead, said the President, "build on the system we now have, a system which has served the world well during the past twenty years."

Yes?

Much as I dislike to question the wisdom of our own Treasury, the facts hardly bear out its interpretation of the 1931 monetary collapse. What collapsed then was not the pure *gold* standard of the pre-1914 era but the *gold-exchange* standard which de Gaulle feels is doomed to a similar fate tomorrow. In the late 1920's, dollar and primarily sterling holdings made up more than a third of the total monetary reserves of countries other than Great Britain and the United States. It was the inability of Britain to convert into gold—or dollars—the large sterling balances accumulated by foreign central banks, particularly the Bank of France, that triggered the 1931 collapse of the world monetary system. Today, sterling and primarily dollar holdings account for more than two-fifths of other countries' monetary reserves, and for more than three-fourths of their increases over the last seven years. There can be no doubt that any massive demands for repayment of the huge dollar and sterling balances held today by central banks (about $23 billion) would put a dangerous strain on U.S. and British gold reserves (now about $17 billion). The British *net* reserves have long been in the red, while the U.S. *net* reserves have dropped precipitately from $16 billion at the end of 1957 to less than $300 million at the end of last year. If we also deducted—as the Department of Commerce does—our short-term liabilities to private dollar holders abroad, our liquid liabilities would exceed our liquid assets by more than $12 billion.

The parallelism between monetary and economic developments in Britain in the aftermath of the First World War and in the United States in the aftermath of the Second does not end there. It extends to the impact of capital flights from the Continent upon the pattern of exchange rates, and to the impact of the consequent underevaluation of European currencies upon economic activity. Booming conditions on the Continent in the late 1920's contrasted with unemployment and stagnation in Britain. When Continental currencies were finally stabilized, refugee capital moved back from London to the Continent, causing a heavy and persistent drain on Britain's slender monetary reserves.

THE ATTEMPT to slow down the exodus of capital through high interest rates conflicted with the desire to revive economic activity through low interest rates. The Bank of England had to plead with the Continental central banks to refrain from converting into gold their increasing amounts of sterling reserves. The gold delegation of the League of Nations was still deadlocked in its marathon debate about the "gold shortage" when French demands for sterling repayment—inspired by political motives as well as by long-entrenched monetary traditions and conservatism—finally unleashed a run on the Bank of

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England, the devaluation of sterling, and a world-wide collapse of the gold-exchange standard.

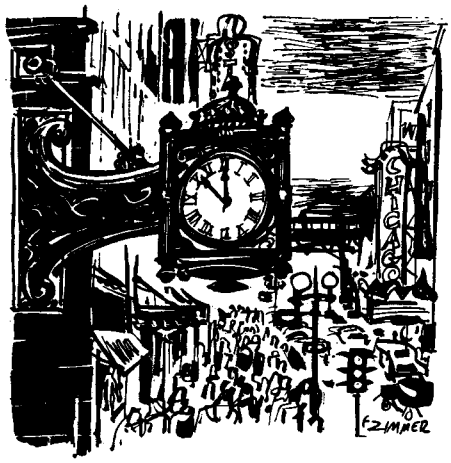
Substitute the United States for Britain, the "liquidity shortage" for the "gold shortage," and the "Group of Ten" for the "gold delegation" in the above account, and draw your own conclusions about what may happen tomorrow if the present deadlock between the French—and other Continentals—and the Anglo-Saxons continues much longer to frustrate agreement on international monetary reform.

No?

There are, however, some major differences between the present situation and that of 1931. First of all, the world economy is in far better shape today than it was then, and the over-all economic and financial position of the United States far stronger than that of Britain in 1931. Our current account surpluses, i.e., the excess of our exports over our imports of merchandise and services, reached a record high last year of $7 billion, and even more if we take into account the more than $1.5 billion of unrepatriated earnings on our foreign investments. Our losses of monetary reserves are entirely due to capital exports and are far more than balanced by growing and highly profitable long-term investments. Our net "foreign worth" even increased by more than $10 billion—from $42.2 billion to $52.3 billion—during the four years 1960-1963. We may become illiquid, but we are more and more solvent.

Second, and very important, world political and financial leaders are now keenly aware of the disaster that any repetition of 1931 could entail for the international monetary and economic order of the West. Since the Second World War they have developed deeply ingrained habits of co-operation and laid the foundations, at least, of the monetary institutions and policies that should enable them to organize a durable international monetary system adapted to the realities of the financial, economic, and political interdependence of their theoretically sovereign countries.

The negotiations of the Group of Ten have, moreover, already developed a large degree of consensus on the defects of the present system and on the alternative solutions available for its consolidation. The reports of both the Group of Ten (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, and the U.S.) and the International Monetary Fund are unanimous in their rejection of flexible rates and of any change in the price of gold. They also recognize that neither gold production, future U.S. deficits, the multiplication of reserve currencies, the present IMF credit facilities, nor bilateral swap-standby agreements such as those negotiated by former Under Secretary of the Treasury Robert V. Roosa can be depended upon to meet all liquidity needs in the future. Steps are required, and have been taken already, to



"provide a basis for multilateral surveillance of the various elements of liquidity creation"; and Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, managing director of IMF, affirmed in a recent speech the "emerging consensus among the international community that the creation of international liquidity, like the creation of domestic liquidity, should become a matter of deliberate decision."

Finally, a Study Group on the Creation of Reserve Assets has been established "to investigate the problems raised by the creation and use of . . . some additional kind of reserve asset, . . . the possible forms it might take and the institutional aspects associated with it."

Maybe

Nine-tenths of the road toward agreed international monetary reform has thus been covered already, but the Group of Ten has nevertheless been bogged down now for months in a deep conflict between the two key-currency countries, on the one hand—the United States and Britain—and the major reserve holders of the Continent—particularly the French—on the other.

The Anglo-Saxons see a potential shortage of liquidity as the main or only defect of the present system and argue for the creation of new reserve assets supplementary to rather than substituting for gold, dollars, and sterling.

The Continentals deny the existence of any proximate liquidity shortage and stress instead the haphazardness, inequity, and vulnerability of a system in which the bulk of world reserve increases—three-fourths or more in recent years—depends on the unpredictable size of U.S. payments deficits and on the precarious willingness of foreign central banks to finance them through the accumulation and retention of short-term dollar holdings as part and parcel of their international monetary reserves.

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S remarks of February 4 have been widely interpreted as a call for a return to a pure gold standard, eliminating the defects that he denounced, but placing the growth of world reserves at the mercy of equally unpredictable fluctuations in western gold production, in private hoarding, and in Soviet gold sales to the West. Private purchases of gold have risen in recent years from about $500 million a year in 1950-1957 to about $1.2 billion in 1964, and Soviet gold sales have accounted for one-half to two-thirds of the annual increases in the western world's gold reserves.

This interpretation of de Gaulle's views, however, hardly jibes with his lengthy argument in favor of a "carefully concerted . . . organization of international credit" within the framework of the International Monetary Fund, the Group of Ten, and the European Economic Community. Nor does it conform with French proposals put forward in the Group of Ten negotiations for the creation of a "composite reserve unit"—CRU—based on a constellation of all the major world currencies, to replace the two *national*

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key currencies, sterling and the dollar, used as *international* reserves in the present unorganized gold-exchange standard.

His speech should rather be viewed, in my opinion, as an indication of his growing impatience with the slow pace of the Group of Ten discussions, and with the exorbitant privilege conferred on the dollar—far more than on the pound—by the present system. By their automatic underwriting of dollar deficits, the foreign central banks are in effect called upon to finance U.S. policies in which their governments have no voice and to which they may be fundamentally opposed. President de Gaulle objects to the financing by the Bank of France of what he calls the expropriation of French firms by our growing direct investments and participation, of our aid to Chiang Kai-shek, of our economic and military intervention in Africa, Southeast Asia, etc. We may prefer our policies to his, but can we realistically expect—or force—him to help finance them indefinitely?

If the present deadlock is not broken, we shall face a major crisis at the expiration, two or three months from now, of the emergency measures taken to halt the sterling crisis last November. A collapse of the pound might well usher in this year, as it did in 1931, a long period of international monetary chaos. The "day of reckoning" foreseen by Lord Cromer, governor of the Bank of England, in one of his recent speeches is more likely to be postponed again for a while, but only at the cost of growing restrictions and controls the seeds of which have already been planted in the United States as well as in Britain. Thus, the "voluntary" restraints on American investments abroad, suggested in President Johnson's balance-of-payments message to Congress, will probably have to be bolstered by more and more policing and "mandatory" restrictions if they are to be effective for more than a few months.

They may then succeed, even beyond present expectations, in eliminating our so-called "over-all" deficit, as measured by the Department of Commerce, namely, the arithmetical sum of our gold losses and of current increases of short-term dollars in the hands of foreigners. But even a perfect over-all balance might not protect us against heavy gold losses if foreign dollar holders should begin to feel that the dollar is no longer the safest and most liquid depository for their working balances and short-term funds and hence decide to shift their holdings to other currencies or into gold. The cashing in of previously acquired short-term dollar holdings abroad—now totaling about $11 billion in private hands and more than $15 billion in foreign central banks—might entail massive gold losses, even though fully offset in our "over-all balance" by equivalent reductions of our short-term liabilities to foreigners.

Why Gamble?

If the present debate could be rescued from the political and emotional morass into which it is now sinking, the broad outline of a sensible solution would at once become apparent. Mr. Schweitzer has urged that "The creation of international liquidity should become a matter of deliberate decision," rather than be left to the hazards of gold production, Soviet gold sales, U.S. balance-of-payments deficits, and speculation about future changes in the gold price and dollar and sterling exchange rates. Thus, the French and other European dollar holders should agree to protect the present level of world liquidity against wanton and unfeasible conversions into gold metal of the huge *outstanding* dollar and sterling balances inherited from long years of past functioning of the gold-exchange standard. These balances should be transformed into IMF deposits or reserve certificates, carrying appropriate exchange-rate guarantees and remaining fully usable for the settlement of all international imbalances.

The Americans and the British, on the other hand, should recognize that they are facing the end of an era in which they alone could finance their deficits through the willing or reluctant accumulation of dollar and sterling holdings by foreign central banks. Their future deficits, like those of all other countries, should be paid in cash, i.e., through transfers of gold or IMF deposits to their creditors. Such deficits could also be paid in the new type of reserve assets proposed by the Group of Ten, which would be deliberately created for the specific purpose of adjusting the growth of world reserves to the legitimate, noninflationary requirements of an expand-

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ing world economy. Unlike the functioning of the two key currencies—the dollar and sterling—which rather haphazardly served this purpose in the past, both the creation of such reserve assets and the uses to which they are put should be the result of concerted decisions by the world community—through the IMF—or the major reserve holders.

Differences of views still exist concerning the appropriate forum for such decisions. Should the management of these funds be concentrated in the IMF, for instance, as generally favored by the Anglo-Saxons, or in the Group of Ten itself, as favored by the French and most Continental countries? I would favor a more decentralized approach as the most appropriate solution of what is essentially a conflict over relative voting rights and influence in these two organizations. Such conflicts could in large part be eliminated if due account were taken of the emergence of new regional economic and monetary unions—such as the European Economic Community—and if the creation and the management of the new reserve assets were divided between them and the IMF.

This problem, however, could be left to leisurely negotiations if the present level of world liquidity could be protected against sudden and massive contraction by an early agreement on the proposals outlined above with regard to outstanding dollar and sterling balances. The Ten have, indeed, unanimously agreed that the rapid increase of such balances over the last seven years has created ample levels of liquidity and made further increases unnecessary for some time.

Answering the Treasury

The Treasury's main objection to this viewpoint is that it would deprive us of the facility with which we have financed our deficits through dollar accumulation by foreign central banks. We too might now have to pay gold for our future deficits. Morality and equity aside, there are three answers to this objection.

The first is that, in the absence of agreement, the United States is far more likely to be faced with further demands for gold conversion of dollar holdings accumulated abroad in the past than to benefit from continuing accumulation of dollar balances by foreign central banks.

The second is that our gold reserves—if protected against further conversion of outstanding dollar balances—are more than adequate to meet reasonable deficits, and could be supplemented, in case of need, by our drawing rights on the IMF, now amounting to nearly $5 billion and to be further increased by the forthcoming rise of IMF quotas, and by our probable participation in the use of the new reserve assets to be created in the future.

The third answer—and, I think, the most important—is that the agreement suggested above to provide protection against further raids on gold would eliminate the major cause of our deficits of recent years, i.e., the totally abnormal swing of short-term capital movements from net *inflows*—characteristic of a major world money center—of $500 million a year in the early 1950's and $1 billion a year in the late 1950's—to net *outflows* of $1.7 billion to more than $2 billion a year in 1960, 1961, 1962, and 1964. This swing began in 1960 with the sharp increase in gold prices in London and is undoubtedly due largely to rumors about the weakness of the dollar that have been engendered by our growing short-term indebtedness abroad.

Funds have been moved out of the dollar into foreign currencies, notably Deutschmarks, and also into gold and real assets abroad. Speculative positions in gold, however, would be highly vulnerable to any agreement which clearly removed any prospect of an official change in gold prices and which enabled central banks to regain full control of the market by using the proposed new type of reserve asset as a supplement—or even an alternative—to future gold accumulation.

We might then see a massive unloading of gold by speculators who have accumulated enormous hoards of the metal over many years past. The size of such gold sales might be expected to run into several billions of dollars, if we reflect that private gold purchases have risen since 1960 by $500 to $600 million each year over previous levels that already embodied large and sustained speculative purchases.

Substantial dollar inflows would then replace, once again, the abnormal outflows that are at the origin of most of our deficits and reserve losses of the last five years. Together with the other measures already taken to improve our balance of payments, this should suffice to bring us into equilibrium and possibly even into substantial surpluses in our international accounts. While removing the remaining tax provisions that discourage the repatriation of foreign earnings, we should then also be able to dispense with the recent capital controls proposed in the President's February 10 message, which if maintained for long would effectively kill the dollar as a key currency in world trade and finance.

CONTRARY to the judgment of many New York bankers, the survival of the dollar in this vital and fruitful role depends today on its elimination, rather than on its retention, as a reserve currency. In the latter role, the dollar will always be cashable into gold metal, either by cautious central bankers afraid of a gold revaluation or embargo, or by their political masters, eager to brandish the real or imaginary bargaining strength derived from their monetary *force de frappe*. Both may be wrong in their calculations, but the main threat to our international monetary order lies precisely in such miscalculations.

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French Politics At The Municipal Level

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

THE MARCH municipal elections in France turn out to have been more interesting than they first appeared. Though it is widely agreed that the results have little or no bearing on the probable outcome of next December's presidential election—assuming that President de Gaulle is a candidate to succeed himself—they may throw light on the future of Gaullism after de Gaulle himself has disappeared from public life. Above all, they may provide indications where nearly seven years of Gaullist therapy has cured or relieved the underlying ills of French democracy, and where it has failed to influence them or has produced harmful side effects.

The most striking and generally accepted lesson of the vote was to invalidate, probably for good, André Malraux's assertion that in France there is nothing between the Gaullists and the Communists. "The figures show the contrary," Jacques Fauvet, one of the nation's most authoritative commentators, declared in *Le Monde*. "In fact, even if one deplores it, the so-called old-time parties still provide the natural framework for large sections of opinion. Talking contemptuously about them is not enough to make them disappear. A better understanding [on the part of the Gaullists] of the French provinces, of their traditions, of their political genealogies, would have avoided many verbal and electoral imprudences." In particular, the often amorphous parties of the Center, such as the Radical Socialists and the Catholic MRP, displayed astonishing vitality. Most French analysts credit the centrists with having been the great victors of the municipal elections, though it is difficult to be certain, since many of the winning electoral tickets classified as centrist were local coalitions ranging from Socialists to members of the extreme Right. As Fauvet and other observers noted, the stability of the extreme right-wing vote demonstrated by these elections is one of the noteworthy constants of French political life.

GOVERNMENT commentators have tried to take some of the sting out of the results by stressing the essentially local nature of the issues and the stability shown by the returns. It is true that incumbent municipal or village administrations, whether Communist, centrist, or Gaullist, generally were returned to office in the absence of any local scandal or fiasco to discredit them—evidence of a practical approach to politics that has not always distinguished the French voter, even in local affairs.

The Gaullist Union Pour la Nouvelle République (UNR) and the government itself, however, had done everything possible to make the elections reflect national politics, and the opposition had everywhere met their challenge with ringing appeals to the voter to save or restore true democracy in France, along with local finances, sewage systems, and hot lunches for schoolchildren. De Gaulle let it be known he expected his ministers to take their chances as candidates on local elections, and most of them obediently plunged into the fray. Premier Georges Pompidou set an example for his colleagues by running for alderman at his summer home of Carjac in the Auvergne and winning 460 votes out of 598 cast. Several days before the elections Pompidou delivered a controversial address to the nation over the National television network, without any nonsense about equal time for the opposition.

In some of the larger cities the Gaullists staged costly American-style campaigns on behalf of the UNR tickets, and some UNR candidates dropped hints of large-scale allocations of public funds for local development to municipalities whose voters showed enlightenment at the polls. A new electoral law intended to moralize and rationalize politics—and incidentally to make life easier for the Gaullist candidates—was applied to towns of more than thirty thousand inhabitants. There was likewise some discreet gerrymandering, which seems to have backfired on the UNR in Marseilles and Lyon, the two cities where it was mainly supposed to help. A few days before the vote, the government, with considerable fanfare, proposed certain changes in the provisions of the Code Napoléon that had held Frenchwomen to be the juridical chattels of their husbands (a right that Frenchmen in recent years have seldom managed to assert). And Minister of the Interior Roger Frey stirred comment with a speech in which he announced plans to convert the UNR into a more highly organized party designed to attract members of other center or rightist groups and eventually to become the sole party of the national majority.

Somewhat illogically in terms of Frey's avowed objective, but in keeping with the Gaullist strategy of making the elections a test of strength between the régime and the opposition, a mainly UNR ticket was entered in the Marseilles race against Mayor Gaston Defferre, at the moment de Gaulle's chief announced adversary in the presidential campaign. Defferre, heading a Socialist-centrist coalition, also confronted a dangerous Popular Front alliance of Communists and defectors from his own local Socialist organization; the UNR ticket, he

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charged, was a plot to split the vote and assure a Communist victory so as to scuttle his presidential chances.

The Defferre list, following a withdrawal of the officially approved UNR tickets, won an absolute majority of seats in the municipal council, thus assuring Defferre's reelection as mayor and furthering his presidential campaign.

Gaullist Gains and Losses

Thanks to these various developments, the elections stirred up a nationwide interest seldom manifested in purely local contests, especially under the Fifth Republic. Observers who had been deploring France's apparent lapse into political apathy were surprised by the crowds that showed up at campaign rallies and by such symptoms of civic enthusiasm as scattered fistfights or, in Marseilles, the blowing up of the UNR headquarters by opposition *plastiqueurs*. This political vitality was confirmed by the relatively low level of abstentions in the first round of the elections—only about twenty-five per cent.

Although the UNR's success is hard to define in those cities and towns where it joined in coalition tickets with partners ranging from Socialists in the North to a prominent ex-Pétainist in Bordeaux, the Gaullist candidates on the whole seemed to have attracted a satisfactory share of the popular vote on the first round. Despite smarting setbacks in Marseilles, Grenoble, and Lyons, where a Gaullist deputy minister, the mountain climber Maurice Herzog, fell victim to a conservative avalanche, the UNR demonstrated that it was at last putting down solid roots in the French countryside. In a number of medium-sized provincial towns the Gaullists performed brilliantly, but in Paris they failed to duplicate their triumph in the legislative elections of 1962. The UNR finally won thirty-nine out of ninety seats on the municipal council after a bitter two-round struggle in which the Popular Front won thirty-eight seats, thanks to the refusal of right-wing and centrist candidates to withdraw in favor of Gaullists who had pluralities on the first round. The Gaullist disappointment in Paris was all the more bitter because the UNR had put up electoral posters urging the voters to "help General de Gaulle" by returning its candidates—the only time during the campaign that de Gaulle's name was formally invoked to sponsor any lists.

However, as the returns came in from the political backbone of France, the towns of less than thirty thousand inhabitants, a disconcerting truth became clear: Gaullism had consolidated itself as a durable French political force, but it had failed spectacularly in its announced aim of swallowing up everything to the right of the Popular Front. Instead of a nation "renovated" by being polarized between the Popular Front and a monolithic national

majority under Gaullist leadership, there emerged from the first round of the elections the less dynamic but more reassuring picture of an electorate divided into three or at most four major blocs: the Popular Front (23.62 per cent, according to unofficial tabulations); Gaullists, including occasional allies of the UNR (27.80 per cent); and the Center (35.81 per cent, with the inclusion of a good number of rightists whom some analysts prefer to class separately).

Since 404,845 municipal councilors out of 468,879 were elected on the first round, the runoff elections held a week later in districts where no ticket had scored an absolute majority did not change the basic pattern. The agreements between parties for combining tickets in the smaller towns, where the practice was still allowed, and the tit-for-tat withdrawals of tickets or candidates in cities only confirmed the first-round trend toward the blurring of party lines within broad coalitions.

THERE WAS a healthy trend among moderates in a number of parties to forget whether they were right-wing or left-wing moderates, and a less healthy trend at times to disregard principle entirely, which usually took the form of archconservatives ganging up with leftish liberals to defeat a Gaullist. The Socialists beat their own previous records for joining the Popular Front in one district and the anti-Communist front in another, thus foreshadowing a possible split in their party. Not surprisingly in view of the bad example the Gaullists themselves had originally set in Marseilles, the UNR appeal to all the national parties to unite behind the highest-scoring ticket against the Popular Front got an uneven response throughout the country, and the seats won by the Popular Front were accordingly out of proportion to the real amount of leftist sentiment in the nation.

Although foreign affairs and even economic issues seemingly had little direct influence in these elections, it is probable, as some right-wing commentators observed, that the recent eastward orientation of de Gaulle's foreign policy handicapped Gaullist efforts to create a sense of urgency among national parties in uniting to block the Popular Front for the second round. Perhaps the growing uneasiness of many Frenchmen over de Gaulle's recent exhibitions of extreme anti-Americanism likewise helped opposition parties of the Right and Center to form common lists despite their ideological differences.

The conclusion from all this is that Gaullism is here for good, but that if the Gaullists are to continue guiding the nation's destinies after General de Gaulle has gone, they will have to take greater account than they have yet done of France's durable Center.

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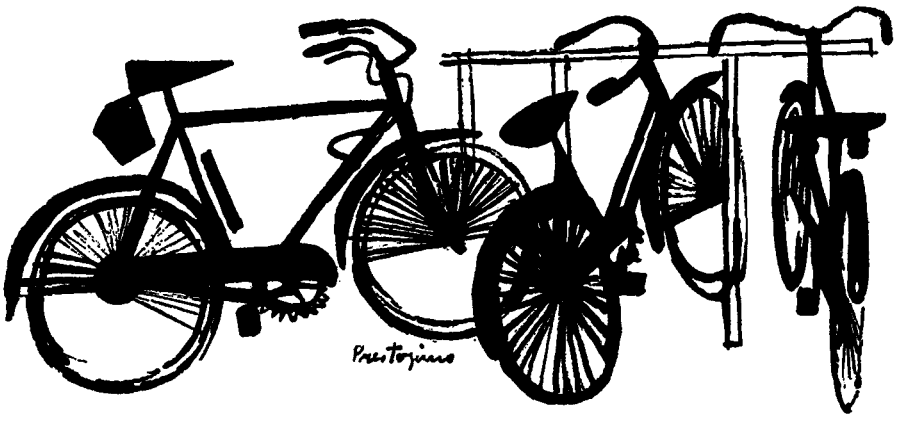

Education's Muddled Bureaucracy

JONATHAN SPIVAK

MORE THAN any other domestic endeavor, education has been selected by President Johnson as the cornerstone of the "Great Society" he envisages. The administration's new program of Federal aid to education, now moving swiftly through Congress, along with increases in existing efforts, would raise Federal education appropriations to $8.6 billion in the fiscal year starting July 1—almost thirty-seven per cent more than this year's expenditure.

Even if Congress doesn't fully satisfy Mr. Johnson's wishes this session, the long-range outlook is for even greater expansion in Federal education activities. There are a variety of reasons. Federal planners now regard education as a major antidote to joblessness and a means of assuring economic expansion. Long-needed improvements in the public schools and the equalization of education opportunities between suburbs and slums and urban North and rural South must now depend heavily on the Federal government. Most state and local governments, which have carried the bulk of the school-taxation burden, are strained to their limits. The rapid rise in college enrollments in this decade makes the financial plight of institutions of higher education increasingly precarious. Many will require Federal help to underwrite necessary expansion, while some may need aid simply to ensure their solvency. Even education research has become so costly and complex that no single institution can make much progress without major help from Washington.

Mr. Keppel's Office

In theory, the focus of all this Federal education activity is the Office of Education, a unit of the Health, Education and Welfare Department. Established in 1867, the Office of Education was endowed from the start with a broad mandate to "promote the cause of education." In practice, it has generally preferred to pursue narrower duties of gathering statistics and making surveys that have often been too tardy or poorly planned to be of much use.

Not until the passage of the "impacted areas" school program in 1950 did the office acquire a major operating responsibility. The impacted areas program now provides almost $400 million a year for construction and operation of schools in districts that are excessively burdened by offspring of the military and other Federal employees. Then in 1958, the office received a second major grant of operating authority in the National Defense Education Act, which was spurred by the Soviet success in orbiting the first artificial satellite. Outlays by NDEA now amount to about $400 million a year for student loans, Ph.D. fellowships, acquisition of scientific equipment, and many other educational activities reaching from the elementary to the postgraduate years.

Though the Education Office discharged these important assignments adequately, it remained suspect of mediocrity if not of incompetence until the appointment in 1962 of its present commissioner, Francis Keppel. The perceptive and persuasive Mr. Keppel has sought with surprising success to convince Congress and the Executive Branch that his agency should be accorded far more important duties.

A former dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, Keppel came to Washington assured of direct access to the Kennedy White House and with no outstanding obligations to the education lobbies that had successfully harassed many other commissioners. Moreover, a backlog of education legislation began to move through Congress soon after his arrival, partly because of the earlier efforts of other officials, including his predecessor, Sterling M. McMurrin.

But there is no question that Keppel has played a key role in bringing a new vigor and authority to the Education Office. He has insisted from the start that the agency give good service to other parts of the government, and has managed to preserve his political independence from the upper echelons of HEW. In contrast, McMurrin was bedeviled by interference from his superiors in HEW that seriously undermined his authority. But most important has been Keppel's handling of relations with Congress, as evidenced in part by the size and scope of the assignments gained by the office since his arrival:

¶ The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963—providing aid for construction of classrooms and other academic facilities in technical institutes, junior colleges, colleges, and universities.

¶ The Vocational Education Act of 1963—modernizing Federally supported vocational education programs, previously limited mainly to home economics and agriculture, to encompass all occupations, with special stress on technician training.

¶ The Library Services and Con-

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struction Act of 1964—enlarging existing Federal library aid to cover not only services and equipment but also construction, and benefiting cities as well as small towns.

As a result of these additions, the Office of Education budget more than doubled in the current fiscal year, rising from $702 million to $1.5 billion. If Mr. Johnson's new education proposals—including $1 billion in aid to schools primarily serving the children of poverty-stricken families—are approved by Congress, the office's budget will more than double again to $3.4 billion in the coming fiscal year.

Along with the new money and growth have come new problems for Commissioner Keppel. Administrative difficulties within the agency are increasing, perhaps partly because Keppel has devoted so much of his time and energy to Capitol Hill. Some critics contend that he has not yet had much success with the overdue shake-up of the agency's bureaucracy. According to an unfriendly Republican congressman: "The place is still set up like a state office of education, with a lot of old fuddydud broken-down former school superintendent types. A lot of people there have spent twenty years writing asinine monographs." But another official, favorably inclined to the commissioner, insists that "Things are getting better, but improvement has been slow."

Keppel has sought advice and assistance outside the agency wherever possible. He has emphasized broadening the composition of its advisory panels to include persons other than educators and has helped sponsor efforts to attract talented young people for long-term government careers. The cost in morale has been considerable within the agency. Not all of the old-timers deserved to be shunted aside. "Some of these people here are surprisingly good," one new member of the agency admitted, "but it's hard to tell because they've never been given a job to do."

Nevertheless, key jobs have remained unfilled for longer than a year while Keppel searched outside the office for the kind of men he needed. Ultimately, he had no choice but to promote officials within the agency to important new assignments.

More serious, however, is the agency's inability so far to direct effectively or even co-ordinate the sprawling educational activities of other units of the Federal government. This task is undoubtedly the toughest that Keppel must tackle.

The Education Jungle

In the past, Congress has assigned most of the major new education programs to agencies other than the Education Office. The G.I. bill, the biggest college scholarship program in the nation's history, was handled by the Veterans Administration; a program to provide construction loans for college housing was assigned to the Housing and Home Finance Agency; education and research in the nation's universities has been supported by such agencies as the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Defense.

Consequently, education programs are now scattered among more than a dozen departments or agencies, as a partial rundown of the appropriations for this fiscal year illustrates: the Public Health Service, $550 million for the training of medical researchers, doctors, dentists, nurses, and other health personnel; the Agriculture Department, $508 million for school lunches, agricultural extension efforts, and other research and development work in universities; NSF, $408 million for the support of science education and basic research: the Labor Department, $362 million for the education and training of the jobless; the Housing and Home Finance Agency, $333 million for college housing loans; the Defense Department, $200 million for research and development in U.S. universities; the Atomic Energy Commission, $128 million for education and research in nuclear sciences; the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, $115 million for education and research.

This diffusion has been abetted by Congress and the Executive branch. Frequently, competing committees of Congress have been eager to foster larger appropriations for the agencies they supervise. The agencies in turn have tried to establish independent ties with the academic world so as to accomplish their particular missions more effectively. Hence, the lawmakers could more easily assuage their fears of monolithic Federal control of education so long as government funds were spread out among many agencies. For their part, the agencies could justify larger appropriations since their mandates covered such diverse responsibilities as space, unemployment, science, and defense.

Washington officials are increasingly aware of the disadvantages that also result from educational sprawl. The dangers of duplication and the problems of co-ordination have become deeply perplexing. There is obvious overlapping, for example, between the graduate-aid programs of NASA and NSF. Both agencies provide fellowships for students seeking Ph.D.'s in the sciences. To confuse matters, the terms of each agency's awards differ. NASA grants $2,400 a year for each student, while the university receives a separate sum, negotiated in each instance, which averages $2,700 a year. NSF student stipends, which must be renewed annually, increase gradually from $2,400 to $2,800 during a three-year period, but the institution's cost-of-education allowance is limited to $2,500 a year.

To justify its involvement, NASA argues that since it is a major

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consumer of technical manpower, it has an obligation to replenish the supply. Other education experts insist that this objective could be more efficiently accomplished by expanding NSF's already established efforts. But NASA's academic program, begun in 1962, is now well under way, and with almost two thousand students being supported, it would be difficult to curtail or transfer.

There is also uncertainty concerning the dividing line between NSF's educational activities and those of the Office of Education. The foundation, though chiefly concerned with the physical sciences, has been giving increasing support to such social sciences as anthropology and psychology, maintaining that its basic responsibility is to foster all fields of science. But the Office of Education is also aiding the social sciences. Although the National Science Foundation and the Education Office have attempted to draw boundaries, some educational specialists are convinced that it is just a matter of time before the two agencies begin competing to support the same graduate students.

NSF's progress in elementary- and secondary-school activities involving teacher training and curricula revisions can also be questioned. NSF became involved in these areas because, in the past, the Education Office did not desire to or was prevented by Congress. Many education experts, not only in the Education Office but elsewhere in the Executive branch, now think it would be logical for Keppel's agency to take over NSF's elementary- and secondary-school programs. But even the suggestion of such a shift would incur the wrath of the foundation's friends in Congress and the universities, who fought to establish NSF in 1950 and are determined to preserve its integrity and independence.

Competing for the Poor

The confused and overlapping responsibilities of various units of the Federal government become even more pronounced in the area of training the unemployed. President Johnson's newly created Office of Economic Opportunity, the Education Office, the Labor Department, and the Welfare Administration are all deeply involved. The justification for multiple efforts is that the task is so tremendous. If one agency fails,

there is hope that another with more imagination will succeed.

Sargent Shriver's Job Corps stresses a search for new educational techniques and wants to involve many agencies besides the public schools. It is establishing rural centers for boys, located on national forests or state lands administered by the Forest Service, National Park Service, and other Federal agencies. Urban centers for boys and girls will provide vocational training and homemaking in addition to basic education. Private industries, universities, and public-school systems will operate the urban centers under contract to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Vocational-education programs in public schools are also beginning to emphasize special courses for the deprived and poverty-stricken. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 provides funds for schools that develop training for students unable to succeed in the regular vocational-education curricula because of "socio-economic" handicaps. Also planned are residential schools to teach out-of-work, out-of-school youths a trade in a healthy environment away from home. The first of these will probably be established in the Washington area by the Education Office. Vocational educators are also starting a $25-million work-study program to provide needy students with funds to enable them to stay in school.

Control or even co-ordination of all these educational endeavors poses great problems. A convincing case history is afforded by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), passed in 1962 to alleviate unemployment. The educational programs started under the act represent a joint endeavor of the Labor and HEW Departments: Labor is responsible for determining the types of training based on market needs as well as selecting the individuals to be trained; HEW's Office of Education supplies and supervises the actual training, primarily through state and local vocational-education systems.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS of such programs have been impressive. Three hundred thousand jobless have received or been approved for training, and over seventy per cent of the graduates have obtained employment. But the dependence on two departments instead of one has caused much complication. Even the reduction to manageable proportions of the paper work required by this dual direction has proved a major administrative hurdle. More significantly, Labor and HEW officials continue to bicker over the details and the direction of the program itself, although both sides insist that the situation has improved.

Part of the trouble stems from different perspectives. The Labor Department experts regard vocational training primarily as a means of placing people in jobs. Keppel's staff tends to view vocational education in broader terms as a valuable aid to increase a student's personal development and social adjustment as well as his employability. Each department would prefer to administer the program alone. Labor officials, for example, contend that the Education Office should make more use of laymen with actual work experience in the conducting of training courses. But Keppel's agency, perhaps responding to pressure from the education groups, has preferred to rely mainly on accredited teachers. HEW officials complain that labor has shortsightedly selected the easy-to-train types, such as high-school graduates, in order to compile a creditable record for Congress. While Labor specialists admit that this happened at the start, they insist that more difficult students are now being sought.

Within each department, there

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have been unhappy bureaucratic battles, the most serious in Labor. Here, two units, the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training (OMAT) and the Bureau of Employment Security, struggle for the dominant role in Labor's share of MDTA. OMAT hastened to set up fourteen regional offices to approve local training courses. The Bureau of Employment Security, which supervises the state employment services, already had a network of field offices.

THE MANPOWER LAW requires that HEW and Labor representatives approve projects jointly. But for a while the signatures of three Federal functionaries were needed—one from the Education Office and two from Labor. The confusion was not resolved until February, 1963, when Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz set up a Manpower Administrator over both agencies, and OMAT was eased into a more restricted role of research and evaluation.

The divided responsibility for MDTA programs has also caused clashes between Federal and state functionaries. "It was not just the Feds going in, but the Feds going in on two different channels and acting for two different agencies," said one Labor official who participated in many of the disputes. For instance, in North Carolina there was little objection to the establishment of racially integrated manpower courses. But until last fall, the state employment service frequently undermined the program by honoring local employers' requests for "white only" MDTA graduates. In other areas, Labor representatives complained that the state vocational educators simply refused to provide integrated courses.

Additional trouble arose because some Labor and HEW officials initially attempted to bypass the state employment services and the state vocational-education boards in the hope of achieving greater flexibility in direct Federal-state relations. Naturally, the state vocational educators have fought vigorously to prevent the state boards from being ignored. And even though HEW is authorized by the manpower law to contract with any suitable public or private agencies for conduct of the courses, it has continued to rely almost entirely on the public-school vocational system.

If it is difficult for two Federal agencies to co-operate effectively in an educational endeavor, what hope is there when more than a dozen are involved? Since education is so

deeply enmeshed in all aspects of American life, it might be argued that it is impossible to set up neat dividing lines of responsibility in Washington. Yet somehow the duplication and confusion must be controlled. The White House has neither the desire nor the staff to become involved in such administrative details. Nor can Congress do much to help, since neither chamber has a committee with jurisdiction over all Federal education activities.

Untangling the Web

The most hopeful omen is the creation last year of the Interagency Committee on Education. This committee, headed by Commissioner Keppel, is the first formal step toward greater co-ordination of Federal education activities, and it reflects the administration's intention to make the Office of Education the center of the effort. The committee was formed partly to bolster Keppel's leadership without undertaking any controversial reorganization and partly to answer growing Congressional complaints of inadequate co-ordination.

The committee is composed of representatives from the major educational agencies such as HEW, Labor, NSF, and Defense. One of its first and more modest tasks will be to simplify the confusing and unnecessary variations in Federal agency arrangements with the universities: for instance, the different terms and conditions governing graduate stipends, and the lack of uniform accounting by the universities for expenditure under government grants and contracts. The committee will also examine such basic issues as the ways in which educational institutions can better meet the nation's changing manpower needs, and will seek to assess the educational responsibilities of various levels of government.

Keppel intends to appoint a ten- to fifteen-member "policy planning" group, drawn from many academic disciplines, to serve as a secretariat, in the hope that the members will contribute some constructive suggestions on Federal education policies. As one official explained: "Basic issues now tend to get worked out in the frantic rush of writing major pieces of legislation. No one really takes a long-range look."

But it is also true that interagency committees are often powerless. Contention and competition, the very factors that lead to their creation, may render them ineffective.

EVENTUALLY more drastic solutions may be required. Some legislators, among them Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff (D., Connecticut), the former Secretary of HEW, are convinced that the creation of a Department of Education is the only answer. But such a reform would encounter massive resistance from the agencies and interests affected, and it is not likely that President Johnson will move rapidly in that direction.

In the short term, more modest steps would seem to be in order. One possibility is the elevation of Commissioner Keppel to the rank of an Under Secretary at HEW, a promotion that would increase the prestige of the agency and make it easier to attract the talent the Office of Education needs to fulfill its growing mission. Such a promotion would help underscore the administration's intention to make the Education Office the effective co-ordinator of the government's vast and tangled involvement in the educational affairs of the nation.

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What Happened to Civil Defense?

ELIZABETH BRENNER DREW

"It is already clear that without fallout shelter protection for our citizens, all defense weapons lose much of their effectiveness in saving lives," President Johnson told Congress in his defense message on January 18. "This also appears to be the least expensive way of saving millions of lives, and the one which has clear value even without other systems." Secretary of Defense McNamara, in his annual briefing of Congress a month later on the nation's military posture, said that "fallout shelters should have the highest priority of any defensive system." But McNamara also acknowledged that for the first time in four years the administration was not asking Congress for the funds to proceed with a substantial shelter program.

Defense officials explained the puzzling discrepancy between top priority and lack of provision by pointing out that the shelter program had been before Congress for three years, and for three years Congress had failed to enact it. But McNamara has never been one to retreat in the face of Congressional intransigence, and on closer examination it becomes clear that much more than the attitude of Congress is involved in his decision to delay the program.

Stops and starts have plagued the civil-defense program since January 12, 1951, when President Truman signed the first postwar Civil Defense Act. Ten years and some $600 million later, warning and communications systems had been built, but little lasting progress had been made. The responsibility for civil defense had been shunted from one government agency to another, finally coming to rest at the end of the Eisenhower years in the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, which was housed in a former government hospital in Battle Creek, Michigan. About $14 million went into a city-evacuation program before it became apparent that it would only produce a massive national traffic jam. It was discontinued in 1959, after a number of studies had concluded that the greatest destruction of life would be caused not by a direct bomb hit, in any case, but by the resulting fallout.

The Gaither Report, written in 1957 but never released, was known to have examined the feasibility of a very expensive shelter system to protect citizens against nuclear blast and that of a less ambitious system to protect them from widespread fallout. But rather than launch on either of these courses, the Eisenhower administration decided to try to inspire the public to build at their own expense shelters modeled after samples the government placed on display. This attempt failed and was abandoned when the Kennedy administration took office.

From the beginning, the Kennedy administration took the view that a nuclear war might break out despite all efforts to avoid it, and that it would be irresponsible not to take protective measures. Addressing Congress on May 25, 1961, on the subject of "Urgent National Needs," the President announced the transfer of civil defense to the Pentagon and said that plans for a fallout-shelter program would soon be formally proposed to Congress.

Then, on June 3 and 4, President Kennedy met with Premier Khrushchev in Vienna for what he described as a series of "most somber talks" about the status of Berlin. In the course of their discussion, Khrushchev informed Mr. Kennedy that he intended to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. At press conferences in late June and early July, the President said that the Soviet Union's "real intent" was to dislodge the West from Berlin. And on July 25, President Kennedy went on television to explain that the United States would honor its "solemn commitments" in Berlin, by force if necessary. He also announced an increase in the draft, said he intended to begin calling up U.S. reservists, and urged the public to start preparing for civil defense. The administration's civil-defense program would be sent to Congress the following day, he said, adding: "But the time to start is now. In the coming months, I hope to let every citizen know what steps he can take without delay to protect his family in case of attack."

The Gun at the Shelter Door

Neither the President, McNamara, nor other top officials had anticipated the hysterical popular reaction to his speech. Those who built shelters were accused of warmongering and those who objected to shelter building were accused of appeasement. Public anxiety reached its peak during the month of August, when, in rapid succession, Khrushchev threatened Soviet mobilization, boasted of a hundred-megaton bomb, and ordered the erection of the Berlin Wall. By August 19, Kennedy had ordered fifteen hundred more troops into Berlin; and

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on August 30, the Soviet Union revealed that it would resume nuclear testing. The public, having been urged by the White House to "start now" on civil defense, was assaulted by the salesmanship of fly-by-night shelter-construction companies, featuring such promotion stunts as the underground accommodation of an entire family for two weeks. Across the land the morality of the gun at the shelter door was bitterly debated from pulpit and press.

The embarrassing fact was, however, that the Pentagon as yet had no program to back up the President's televised promise "to let every citizen know what steps he can take without delay." As a result, an extraordinary amount of time, talent, and debate among government officials as high up as McNamara and the President himself was expended in efforts to rush into production a pamphlet telling the public what to do. Time Inc. was brought in to do the job, but its booklet was dropped by mutual consent when the high government officials decided that the whole issue of civil defense needed deflating. Finally, a rather innocuous government document was ready by late 1961, but by the time it could be distributed, Khrushchev had canceled his year-end deadline on the peace treaty with East Germany, and the Berlin crisis was over. With public concern lapsing quickly into indifference, administration plans to accompany the publication of the shelter pamphlet with a Presidential "fireside chat" were called off.

The only lasting effect of 1961's civil-defense emergency was that during the Berlin crisis Congress approved the administration's initial proposal for $207.6 million to carry out a program for marking existing buildings as shelter locations, if the owners agreed, and stocking them with survival equipment.

In 1962, the Kennedy administration submitted to Congress a bill to augment this program. It proposed to supplement available shelter space by offering matching funds to nonprofit institutions such as schools and hospitals if they would include shelter facilities in putting up new buildings. The two programs together, it was estimated, would provide 240 million shelter spaces, the number estimated as necessary to protect all Americans whether at home or at work. The shelter-incentive program would cost $5 billion, of which the Federal share would be about $2 billion expended over a period of several years, a relatively small portion of the Defense Department's annual budget of around $50 billion. Administration planners were convinced that the combined shelter program was the least expensive, most efficient, and least dramatic way of providing a nationwide shelter system.

Astonished and dismayed by the panic of the previous summer, the administration was chary of mounting another all-out drive for civil defense. It was hardly surprising, then, that the new shelter-incentive bill aroused little interest in Congress in 1962. The shelter-marking program had received quick approval in 1961 because it had been considered an outgrowth of existing programs and did not require the approval of authorizing committees. Moreover, because of the transfer of civil-defense functions to the Pentagon, the question of providing the requisite funds had been moved from the House Appropriations Independent Offices subcommittee headed by Albert Thomas (D., Texas), who had been highly skeptical of civil defense, to the Defense Appropriations subcommittee headed by George Mahon (D., Texas), who was more interested in the problem. This tactical advantage was short-lived, however. Thomas, with the help of the late Clarence Cannon (D., Missouri), chairman of the full House Appropriations Committee, regained jurisdiction in 1962 and has worked systematically at cutting civil-defense funds ever since.

After months of Congressional inaction on the shelter-incentive program and minimal prodding from the White House, President Kennedy in August, 1962, wrote appropriate committee chairmen asking them not to abandon his bill. The reply of House Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Vinson (D., Georgia) shut the door on approval of the program for that year. The administration came back with a scaled-down shelter-incentive program in 1963: a one-year "pilot program" that would provide shelters for only ten million people. Reluctantly, Vinson permitted hearings. The new proposal was reviewed by a House Armed Services subcommittee which, according to its chairman, F. Edward Hébert (D., Louisiana), was almost unanimously opposed to the program at the outset.

After two months of hearings, in which the testimony of more than a hundred witnesses was taken, "these same members have come out . . . having completely reversed the opinions held at the beginning of the hearing," said Hébert, who had himself been converted into a zealous proponent of the program. "I cannot recall a similar experience in my twenty-three years in Congress." (Much of the credit for the subcommittee's reversal went to Steuart L. Pittman, at that time the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Defense, who led an impressive array of scientists, engineers, and administrators before the subcommittee to plead for the program.) Persuaded by the subcommittee, the full Armed Services Committee sent the bill of authorization to the House floor, where it passed with surprisingly little difficulty.

But in the Senate, the bill received an unexpected setback. Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Georgia), the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, appointed a special subcommittee headed by Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Washington) in late 1963 to hear arguments for the program. In somewhat mysterious contrast to the Hébert group, the Senate subcommittee held a perfunctory and unpublished three days of hearings. Then, on March 2, 1964, the subcommittee voted to "defer action," and that ended the matter in the Eighty-eighth Congress.

In a letter to Pittman, Jackson said that the subcommittee's action "was based on several factors not necessarily related to the substance of the bill. Principal among them," said Jackson, "is the fact that ballistic-missile defense and the shelter program have been closely related and it is believed that a decision as to both should be similarly related."

Naturally, Hébert expressed his disappointment at the Senate's failure to approve the program. He

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promised that his subcommittee would "hold hearings on it early in the next Congress." Thus readied for action, he was surprised to find that while in January the shelter-incentive program was "top priority," it had been dropped from the current Defense Department budget.

McNamara's Posture

It is apparent that one of the reasons for McNamara's decision not to push for the shelter-incentive program this year is based on assessments that he could not win either authorization from Russell's committee in the Senate or funds from Thomas's subcommittee in the House. In an interview, McNamara said he would "press hard" for sufficient funds to continue the marking and stocking of shelters. Thomas's subcommittee has cut these funds so drastically that of about seventy million officially designated shelter spaces, less than half have any supplies in them. Measured against the estimated need of 240 million spaces, the twenty-nine million ready for use are of practically no value, as is admitted at the Pentagon.

The Secretary intends to concentrate, rather, on "educating" Congress and the American public on the precise role that civil defense should play in the event of a nuclear attack. His educational program will be based on his annual report to Congress on our military posture and the defense budget for the year. McNamara's posture statement, as it is called, divides strategic weapons into two categories: those which could provide such "assured destruction" of the Soviet Union under any circumstances that the Russians would be deterred from launching a nuclear attack, and those which, should the deterrent fail, would limit the damage to the United States by providing both active and passive defense. McNamara is convinced that we now have sufficient "assured destruction" forces. The possible additions to the U.S. "damage-limiting" forces are fallout shelters, the Nike-X anti-missile missile, a new manned interceptor, more intercontinental ballistic missiles, and a new manned bomber to destroy any offensive weapons the enemy might be holding in reserve. McNamara assigns priority to these systems in precisely that order. To develop and procure all of them would cost about $40 billion.

The Potentials of Nike-X

Obviously, Johnson and McNamara are not prepared for this kind of spending without urgent and demonstrable justification. Such justification is, in their opinion, still lacking.

Over the original protests of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, production of the Nike-X has been delayed for at least a year while tests on the system continue. Even though more than $2 billion has already been spent on the system, its capabilities are still under debate. Moreover, civilian defense officials argue that the Nike-X, designed to intercept and destroy incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles, could never substitute for a shelter program and is not, as Senator Jackson and many others have said, inseparable from it. First, even if the Nike-X were deployed, it would cover only a limited number of areas. (Defense officials are talking about a program that would protect twenty-three cities, containing thirty-five per cent of the population, at a cost of $20 billion.) Second, even if a city were surrounded by a ring of anti-missile missiles, the protection would be worthless without a shelter system. Otherwise, the enemy could explode a missile upwind of a protected city and beyond the range of its anti-missile missiles, rendering the city vulnerable to fallout. Hence, as the President said in his January 18 defense message, without fallout shelters "all defense weapons lose much of their effectiveness in saving lives."

Moreover, "The degree to which each system will reduce the damage is limited indeed, and can be offset by Soviet action," McNamara told me. For one of the many factors involved is that weapons of assured destruction have been further developed and are far less expensive to produce than defensive weapons. An increase here in defensive weapons, therefore, is quite likely to bring about a Russian increase in offensive ones, thus creating a spiral of weaponry.

Thus, instead of rushing ahead with the production of new defense weapons, McNamara has chosen to invest about $1 billion in their continuing development; and a considerable amount of Pentagon brainpower is being devoted to working out the best "mix" of these weapons.

In the effort to evaluate a damage-limiting program, the problems of saving millions of lives have been subjected at the Pentagon to the statistical scrutiny of cost-effectiveness studies. According to these computations, spending for such defensive weapons soon leads to diminishing returns. In his posture statement, McNamara offered figures showing that in a surprise attack on the U.S. with our existing defense systems, about 60 million out of 1970's estimated 210 million inhabitants would survive; for $5 billion more invested in fallout shelters, about 30 million more lives would be saved; another $10 billion worth of missile defenses and bombers would buy another 24 million lives; and still another $10 billion spent on damage-limitation weapons would protect yet another 18 million people. The resulting ratios have convinced McNamara, as he told Congress, that a fallout-shelter system "would provide the greatest return, in terms of lives saved, from any additional funds spent on damage limiting measures," and that it should have highest priority.

McNamara states frankly and firmly that he is "absolutely opposed to moving on without fallout shelters." But because of the technical, logistic, and policy questions still under review, he is also avoiding any commitments to Congress to proceed with the Nike-X or any of the other defense systems even if a complete fallout-shelter program were enacted.

Finding the Perfect Wife

McNamara's postponement of the shelter-incentive program has not gone uncriticized. "If the program was an urgent one last year, it is an urgent one this year," said Representative Hébert. "A truly responsible attitude toward a fallout-shelter pro-

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gram, therefore, places a burden on the Secretary of Defense."

Others accuse McNamara of taking a calculated risk for reasons of economy. "This is the first time we've said we know how to protect people and won't do it," said one student of civil-defense problems. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, who have long been apathetic to civil defense, now stand ready to support it, if only, some observers suspect, as the price they will have to pay for keeping Nike-X alive. There are many experts in and outside of the Pentagon who feel that its production is the first order of the day. One of them has said that McNamara "is using civil defense as a stalking-horse to knock off the Nike-X and active defense generally." One retired army officer is irritated by McNamara's big-corporation approach to the problem: "McNamara's trouble is that he wants to put everything on a graph, but there are some things you can't graph. . . . It's like trying to find a perfect wife by putting all the statistics on paper. . . . This is largely true with civil defense. If you frighten people enough they'll build shelters. If you say it's important and the government leads by example, which it doesn't, more could be accomplished."

Both McNamara and the President have said that civil defense is important. But the President also sets a high priority on other objectives essential to the national interest—a successful conclusion of the war in South Vietnam, the defense of the dollar, the continuing health of the economy, and the passage of an ambitious program of domestic legislation. With a proposed expenditure of $1 billion on continuing research and development, the President and Secretary McNamara have, in effect, bought another year's delay on defensive systems while McNamara attempts to study more closely the staggering costs and the arcane technological problems involved. He is caught between the clashing pressures of strategic, economic, and emotional considerations that have always characterized this troublesome issue. Until the Secretary can come up with a completely persuasive case that would reconcile these widely divergent interests, civil defense will remain in limbo.

Vietnam: The Politics of 'Peace'

DENIS WARNER

SAIGON

IN SOUTH VIETNAM today, peace has come to mean many things. "We want peace," says the National Liberation Front, "but peace must be understood on our terms." That this sort of "peace" would require capitulation by the government of South Vietnam is obvious enough. To Premier Phan Huy Quat the word has a very different meaning. "True peace," he said at his first press conference, "requires that the Communists immediately end the war they have provoked, that they stop their infiltrations as well as all subversive attempts and acts of sabotage against the authorities and people of South Vietnam." Between these two well-defined positions, there are so many peace movements that no one can tell with certainty where the sensible ends and the sinister begins.

One Vietnamese newspaper columnist suggested that one major difference appeared to be that those who advocated peace with a cease-fire were arrested, while those who did not won the approval of the government. There are even finer shades of difference. The police did not hesitate to round up the signatories to the People's Self-Determination Movement—which called for an immediate cease-fire and a negotiated end to the war—though they included some of Saigon's best-known citizens. But only a day or two later the premier declared that there was a clear difference between Buddhist demands for a settlement—some of which also call for an immediate cease-fire—and those of the People's Self-Determination Movement. While political expediency may have demanded this response, the fact remains that the Buddhist peace movement (or movements, since there are several) presents a broad spectrum of unpredictable and largely uncontrollable dangers.

While Thich Tri Quang and Thich Tam Chau, the two leaders of the Buddhist Institute for the Propagation of the Faith, have both privately informed the U.S. embassy, for what it is worth, that they approve the bombing attacks on North Vietnam as a means of establishing a climate in which negotiations may be possible, a new and nonconforming Buddhist leader has appeared on the scene. He is Thich Quang Lien, the Yale-

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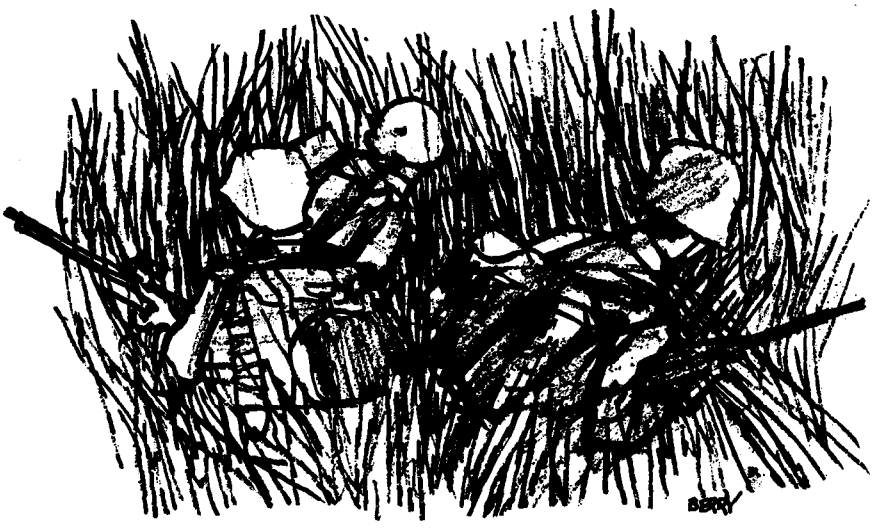
educated principal of the leading Buddhist high school in Saigon, who commands what he calls the Struggle Movement for the Preservation of Peace and People's Happiness.

"We don't want to become a Sino-Soviet satellite or a colony of western imperialism," Quang Lien told a meeting at the An Quang Pagoda. "The policy of using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese is merely a policy to drive our nation into destruction and ruin. The benefits of this will go into the hands of imperialists, colonialists, feudalists, and foreign bosses who will be able to dominate and conquer our land, as well as to intoxicate our people easily." He plans to send a delegate to Hanoi to pave the way for a settlement based on the dissolution of the National Liberation Front, the withdrawal of Communist leaders from the South and of Soviet and Chinese advisers from the North, and the withdrawal, also, of U.S. forces—all of this being the prelude to the establishment of a reconciliation committee and reunification. "Love and conscience can resolve any problem," says Quang Lien.

IT IS DIFFICULT to read into Quang Lien's utterances anything that even implies criticism of the Communists. Yet it is also difficult to be sure whether his thinly veiled anti-Americanism and complacent dismissal of really vital questions are the product of naïveté or of something radically different. He appears to believe quite seriously that once the North Vietnamese element of the Vietcong has withdrawn, the rest will lay down their arms. "If they go underground," he said, "the people are strong enough to react. If they do that, I'll be in favor of all-out attack against the North." With what and how he does not explain.

According to Quang Lien, both Tri Quang and Tam Chau read and approved his proclamation in principle. Even Premier Quat, he said, did not disapprove, but had merely called him and asked him to go slow. The reaction of the Vietcong was bitter and violent. In recent broadcasts they have accused Quang Lien of betraying the nation and Buddhism, of being a "mouthpiece of the White House," and of building a "fake peace organization."



Tam Chau, now perched cautiously on the fence waiting to see how events move, disowns but does not disavow Quang Lien's movement. His own idea is that those who want to live in the North should go North and that those who want to live in the South should come South and that then there will be peace. But he remains as evasive as ever, as the following question and answers clearly show.

Sitting in his room at the headquarters of the Institute for the Propagation of the Faith and sometimes laughing heartily at my questions, he told me that, as supreme leader of the so-called Unified Buddhist Church, he only favored policies that were also policies of the church.

QUESTION: Is Thich Quang Lien following the policy of the church?

ANSWER: Quang Lien has issued a manifesto saying what should be done. It represents what he believes.

QUESTION: Are you in favor of what Thich Quang Lien recommends?

ANSWER: I have said what I believe and what the church believes.

QUESTION: Is there any truth in charges that the Vietcong have infiltrated the Buddhist church?

ANSWER: It is wrong to ask whether the Vietcong have infiltrated only the Buddhists. They have infiltrated every organization in South Vietnam —military, church, political, and governmental. That is true and the government must confirm it. The Communists have penetrated everything, including the U.S. services.

QUESTION: What evidence is there of that?

ANSWER: I give the example of Americans stealing documents in the United States for the Soviet Union.

The Student Threat

The truth is that Tam Chau is in no position to dictate to Quang Lien. Isolated and unwell, he is perhaps sincere when he says he wants to retire from the leadership of the Unified Buddhist Church in order to write books on religion. Not even the Quat government would dare to place Quang Lien under arrest. He does not boast idly when he says he can fill the streets with student demonstrators—and get away with it.

Of roughly two hundred thousand high-school students in Saigon, the Buddhist elements represented by Thich Quang Lien control about half. And for reasons that are contradictory in cause and complementary in effect, no group in the capital is more susceptible to the confused and sometimes treacherous propaganda for peace.

On the one hand, there is the natural inclination among many youths to identify themselves with the unquestionable revolutionary zeal of the Vietcong. As seen from many a Saigon school desk, there is a romance and adventure in the Vietcong cause that is singularly lacking among the coup-ridden, divided anti-Communist forces. On the other hand, there is widespread opposition to the draft. Unless these sixteen- and seventeen-year-old youths, experienced by now in manipulating governments by demonstration, can see some means of ending the war in the near future, they know they will be

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sent off next year, or the year after, to fight for a cause they may have been taught to disapprove of or regard as lost.

The government's dilemma is acute. In his final days in office Premier Tran Van Huong, a man of courage and rare determination though lacking finesse or political skill, had challenged the Institute for the Propagation of the Faith; given more time, he might have broken its power. The weak Quat government, which came into being with Buddhist support, is in no position to make such a challenge.

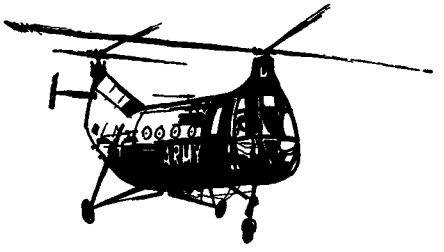
While there are some signs that many of the generals have learned that political meddling is an unprofitable business, for themselves and for the country alike, a company of troops on unscheduled operations around Saigon is still enough to send countercoup forces to action stations. This does not mean that the Quat government will necessarily be short-lived. But whatever longevity it may enjoy is likely to spring from weakness rather than from strength, from doing too little rather than too much. Though any prospect of stability is encouraging, this is scarcely enough to meet the severe political tests that lie ahead.

A New Party?

Vague government plans to introduce what it calls "administrative democracy," with elections in the provinces and towns and if possible in the villages, are hardly realistic at this time. Yet there is much to the argument advanced by Dr. Phan Quang Dan, the sole remaining political leader of stature who has not yet tried his hand at government, that at least elections for a national legislature should be held as soon as possible in all areas now controlled by government forces.

At present there is neither military nor civil government but a dubious mixture of both. The generals must either get on with the war or run the country, delegating to capable subordinates the more than full-time job of looking after the hard-pressed army corps and divisions. But if, as Dan suggests, a national election, however limited its scope and however restricted the candidacies, were to be accompanied by the dissolution of the Armed Forces Council, then, in his opinion, it would at least give the government some sense of identity with the people and perhaps provide the framework on which a stable administration could be built.

Under the present circumstances of war, this may seem to be reaching for the stars. Yet, curiously enough, the near collapse of all organized political activity provides opportunities that did not exist before. The recognized parties, such as the Dai Viet and the Vietnamese Kuomintang, have been splintered beyond repair by the Buddhist-Catholic dispute and the succession of *coups d'état*. Thus it might not be too difficult to form a government party and, with the resources avail-



able, to ensure its success in elections that could and should be as free as those held in Singapore and Malaya. National Liberation Front candidates and their supporters would, of course, be banned.

DR. PHAN QUANG DAN is the chief advocate of this program, and he has received support from various quarters, including that, it is reported, of Chief of State Phan Khac Suu. For a long time Dan suffered from what was regarded as a poor performance in court when he was tried by the Diem régime early in 1963 for denouncing it on the radio during the abortive *coup d'état* of 1960. An immensely popular figure in Saigon in the late 1950's, he took with him to court the distinction of having been the only opposition candidate ever to have won a seat in Diem's National Assembly, sweeping in by 35,000 votes to 5,000 despite an influx of troops into his district with orders to vote against him. But after two years of solitary confinement and intermittent torture in the dungeons under Saigon's botanical gardens, he was not prepared to denounce the régime at the almost certain cost of his life.

There are signs that this is now understood, and if further changes in government occur, as they are bound to, Dan, with powerful backing from at least one section of the Armed Forces Council and with the approval of Chief of State Suu, may yet get his chance. It will not count against him at this time that though he is pro-American, he does not appear to be highly regarded at the U.S. embassy, which reportedly considers that he lacks the personality of a great national leader.

Yet Dan, at forty-six, has had a remarkable career. He is probably unique in Vietnam politics for having rejected the offer of a cabinet post from Ho Chi Minh in 1946 and from Ngo Dinh Diem in 1955. But in the interim he did serve briefly in the first Bao Dai government, resigning in protest over the Franco-Vietnamese accords of March 8, 1949, which failed to achieve complete independence for his country. For the most part, Dan has preferred to devote his time over the years to his medical practice, to the organization of a legal opposition, and to the publication of Saigon's largest weekly.

A member of a leading Buddhist family, Dan has the backing of conservative Buddhist groups bitterly opposed to the monks of the Institute for the Propagation of the Faith, whom they regard as venal impostors, Communist-infiltrated and highly dangerous to the effective prosecution of the war, particularly since they are pursuing negotiations from South Vietnam's current position of weakness.

To persuade the soldiers to go back to fighting and to get the monks out of politics and back to their prayers and pagodas may be impossible at this time. Nevertheless, the Buddhist lay leaders who supported Tran Van Huong's government believe the attempt ought to be made. This is also Dan's view. As for the monks, the fact is that, whatever their motives, they have now become involved in a campaign that may yet frustrate all military and diplomatic efforts on the part of Saigon and Washington and produce for South Vietnam the sort of "peace" that Mao once said grew out of the barrel of his gun.

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Cast of Characters

A Bloomsbury Memoir

EDITH SITWELL

AT ABOUT the beginning of the 1914-1918 war, I took a small flat in Moscow Road, Bayswater, where I lived as best I could. Intellectual society was, at that time, divided into several camps, and to none of these did I, by nature, belong. On the one side was the bottle-wielding school of thought to which I could not, owing to my sex, upbringing, tastes, and lack of muscle, belong. On another side was the society of Bloomsbury, the home of an echoing silence. This section of society was described to me by Gertrude Stein as "the Young Men's Christian Association—with Christ left out, of course."

Some of the more silent intellectuals, crouching under the umbrella-like deceptive weight of their foreheads, lived their toadstool lives sheltered by these. The appearance of others aroused the conjecture that they were trying to be foetuses. But to what rebirth and subsequent life they looked forward, I do not know.

In this world of superior intellect there were several models. There was, for instance, the amphibian model —with gaping mouth, glassy eyes staring at nothing in particular, and with a general air of slipperiness and, at the same time, scaliness.

There was, too, the village idiot model, drooling, and with a boastful exhibition of mental deficiency—also the deliberately awkward and blundering good sportsman and cricketer model.

The ladies of this world were not, to my mind, attractive. For the most part they had faces like fawn-colored felt hats that had been inadvertently sat upon. They spent their time in chronicling the doings of the unexciting female chatterboxes of previous centuries—passed over by history (that terrible mill in which sawdust rejoins sawdust), and remarkable only because of their inexhaustible enthusiasm for dossing down in every ditch with every little frog disguised as a bull. On the borders of this society was a purely social agglomeration—one alien to the society in which I was brought up—a society which, using money as a battering ram and broadmindedness as a weapon, brought off invasions of a world hitherto unknown to them. All these beings lived in the shade of certain powerful and protective persons, eminent and accommodating divines, sleek and pouting, filling their coats and own spiritual needs as completely and fully as a neatly rounded potato fits its skin, and leaders of society, some with voices like the bellowing of the golden (or brazen) Calf, others like a tunicate, possessing, to quote the scientific description of this elementary form of life, a preference for dwelling amidst mud. A stomach and a mouth, but neither nerves nor a heart.

I KNEW the painter and distinguished art critic Roger Fry well, for I sat to him for several portraits. Warm-hearted, generous-minded and kindly, he was always espousing some lost cause, championing some unfortunate person, rushing at some windmill with a lance. In other respects he was dreamy and vague, incapable of noticing any but a spiritual discomfort. I remember an incident when I was lunching at his house after a sitting. Mr. Fry's slippers could not be found anywhere, and a game of hunt-the-slipper ensued. In the midst of the fun, a loud crash

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From the book TAKEN CARE OF, to be published by Atheneum Publishers.

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was heard, and a hoarse voice said, "Coal, Sir!" "Put it, my good man," said Mr. Fry, whirling round and round like a kitten chasing its tail, losing his spectacles, and speaking in a voice weak from fatigue—"Oh, well, put it on the bed." At this point I found the slippers in the milk jug, and the fun stopped.

Virginia Woolf had a moonlit transparent beauty. She was exquisitely carved, with large thoughtful eyes that held no foreshadowing of that tragic end which was a grief to everyone who had ever known her. To be in her company was delightful. She enjoyed each butterfly aspect of the world and of the moment, and would chase the lovely creatures, but without damaging the colored dust on their wings. Whenever anyone present said anything pregnant, she would clasp her long delicate hands together and laugh with pleasure. In her own talk she always went straight to the point. For instance, on the first occasion when I met her, at a dinner party given by Osbert and Sacheverell, she asked me, "Why do you live where you do?" "Because I have not much money." "How much money a year have you?" I told her. "Oh well, I think we can do better for you than that," she said thoughtfully.

However, nothing came of this project, and I remained in Bayswater. That, I think, was as well. I do not think I should have "fitted into" the closely serried company of Bloomsbury. I was not an unfriendly young woman, but I was shy, and yet, at unexpected moments, was not silent—and silence was much prized, sometimes to the embarrassment of persons outside the inner circle of Bloomsbury.

I SUPPOSE I was always rather odd to look at, from a conventional point of view (and nothing was more unconventionally conventional than the company of Bloomsbury). Looking back on myself I can see that I had an untidy elegance like that of a tall thin bird—and was a being who appeared to have but a few friends, a few snowflakes, perhaps, as I have said, and a small bough of early flowering almond blossom.

The company of Bloomsbury were kind-hearted, and from time to time I entered it on sufferance. Lytton Strachey was a major Bloomsbury idol of this time. I knew him but slightly, and don't like his work. Actually, with the exception of Queen Victoria, I think he saw the beings of whom he wrote in profile only, never full face. He seemed to have been cut out of very thin cardboard. He wasted no words in conversation. A young and robust friend of ours, Constant Lambert, meeting him at a party, said, "You don't remember, Mr. Strachey? We met four years ago."

"Quite a nice interval, I think, don't you?" remarked Mr. Strachey pleasantly, and passed on.

Remembering to forget, or, as Groucho Marx put it, buying back an introduction, was a great self-protective feature of the time. It was said—I do not know with what truth—that Sir Jacob Epstein, finding the late Mark Gertler, the painter, at the Café Royal said to him, "Gertler, do you remember the time when we were not acquainted?" Gertler said he had some dim recollection of this. "Let us go back to that time, Gertler," said the great man.

ONE YEAR, when my brother Osbert and I arrived at Montegufoni on a visit to our parents, we were greeted by my father with the news that "A most extraordinary man came over to luncheon here—a man with red hair: I think he is a writer; he said his name is Lawrence. He had heard of you. He brought his wife. She jumped on all the beds after luncheon—to see if the mattresses were soft." (My father had a superb collection of painted and gilded seventeenth-century beds.) "When they signed their names in the visitors' book, she put, after hers, *'Geborene,'* and then something I couldn't read. So extraordinary! *Of course* she was born! Everybody is."

A few days after we received the information about the visit to Montegufoni of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, we received from them an invitation to tea.

We drove through the Tuscan countryside to their tall pink house, that looked as if it were perched upon a hen's legs. It was full of Lawrence's pictures. The subjects of these were rather like a solid Doppelgänger of Mrs. Lawrence, and made one feel as if one had been very severely bumped! Otherwise, the house had a serious continental comfort. Mr. Lawrence looked like a plaster gnome on a stone toadstool in some suburban garden. At the same time he bore some resemblance to a bad self-portrait by Van Gogh. He had a rather matted, dank appearance. He looked as if he had just returned from spending an uncomfortable night in a very dark cave, hiding, perhaps, in the darkness, from something which, at the same time, he on his side was hunting.

His hair, which had been very red, was now dimmed by illness, as though dust, or ash, had quenched that flame. It hung down, at moments, into his bright and eager eyes, hindering him from seeing anything. He had a sad look of illness; at times he had a kind of eager quickness, as if he were afraid of something being left unfinished. At other moments he would lag behind in the conversation as if he was trying to drag time to a standstill.

Though courteous and amiable, he was determined to impress upon us that he was a son of toil (that was the great romance, apart from his marriage with Mrs. Lawrence, in his life) and he seemed to be trying to make us uncomfortable by references to the contrast between his childhood and ours. But this was not our fault. Our childhood was hell, and we refused to be discomfited.

Mr. Lawrence talked to us a great deal about our parents, ascribing to them characteristics which were completely alien to them. They were, he explained, madly in love with each other, whereas the only times when they stopped quarreling and thwarting each other were when they joined together to persecute their offspring.

Poor Mr. Lawrence had a very bad chip on his shoulder. He hated men who were magnificent to look at. He hated men who were "gentlemen."

At about the same time when we visited him, or soon after, he wrote *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* to me a very dirty and completely worthless book of no literary importance, and unworthy of the man who could write "The Snake" and "The Mountain Lion"—two beautiful and most moving poems.

The book contains certain remark-

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able faults of taste, as when Mr. Mellors, the adulterous gamekeeper, speaking of his master, who had been desperately injured in the war, said, "He as good as told me I was a disreputable character who walked about with my breeches buttons undone" (nothing could have been more true) "and I as good as told him he'd nothing to unbutton anyway. It's not for a man in the shape you're in, Sir Clifford, to twit me for having a cod between my legs."

Nobody seems to have thrashed Mr. Mellors, which was what he deserved, and this unutterably filthy, cruel, and smelly speech has been, apparently, accepted by the more idiotic of the British public as being a fine example of the workingman's frank, splendid mode of expression. No decent workingman, no decent man of any class, would have uttered it.

As I have said, I think the work worthless as a work of art. And I can only apply to it a five-letter word which, until Mr. Lawrence made a pet of it, was only allowed by our cricket-loving, golf-loving, tennis-loving compatriots to be used in connection with those games—not in connection with the game that interested Mr. Lawrence.

But to return to the tea party. Part of the conversation consisted in Mrs. Lawrence explaining the natives of Bloomsbury to me—sometimes correctly—and telling me how she had been obliged to protect Lawrence from the snares they laid for him.

The couple can never have had a dull moment, since everyone who met them fell in love either with Mr. or Mrs. Lawrence. All were potential seducers, and the utmost ingenuity had to be exercised in order to circumvent their plots. They had mercy on neither age nor sex. Anything might happen at any moment and in any place, and although it never *did* happen, that did not spoil the fun.

We did not see Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence again, for although there had not been time for us to fall in love with them, the fact that we had not done so turned us, automatically, into textbook cases, and our relations became strained, to say the least of it.

Newley Pretentious

GERALD WEALES

There is an unwritten rule that no play should be reviewed until it officially opens on Broadway. Since the new Anthony Newley musical is an elaborate allegory demonstrating that survival hinges on our breaking the old rules, I will go along with its message and report what the show looked like in Philadelphia. Technically, it should be called a Leslie Bricusse-Anthony Newley musical, for the book, music, and lyrics were written by the two of them, following up their success in *Stop the World—I Want to Get Off*. Newley is also the director and the co-star (with Cyril Ritchard), so the shortened form seems permissible. The show's name is not yet widely used because the public has to adjust to *The Roar of the Greasepaint —The Smell of the Crowd*. When ads first appeared in the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, business-minders wrote in to tell the paper that it had things backward. The show takes care of that; it repeats the mild and rather attractive gag of the title so often that the reversal is firmly planted in the audience's collective head.

There are really only two kinds of verbal humor in the show. Tricky wordplay like that in the title can be found in such lines as "New players may not step on colored squares, and colored players may not step on new squares." The fractured-tradition gag consists of things like "Since this is the anniversary of Benjamin Disraeli's *bar mitzvah*," or "By the dancing feet of St. Vitus the . . . ." Both, I am afraid, are relevant to the theme of the play. But let's take it from the top.

The curtain opens on Sean Kenny's free-form set, slightly foreboding steps curving around a central playing area where a children's game is chalked in bright colors on the floor. A chorus apparently left over from *Oliver* (in this case a mixture of small boys and chorus girls disguised as small boys) runs in and sings and dances "The Beautiful Land." This appears to be a song that in purpose if not in tempo is meant to do what "Somewhere" did in *West Side Story*. It also explains how the game is played: to win you must reach the center circle where a spotlight falls on you. Since this is a musical of high significance, the chorus (called The Urchins and dressed to suit the name) is not simply a set of lovable and put-upon children, like the Dead End Kids. It is the "crowd" of the title—changeable, malicious, greedy. Of course, this does not become clear until there are sides to choose, after the two principals are introduced and their conflict established.

With the opening number out of the way and The Urchins at rest (very momentarily), who should come in but Pozzo and Lucky, straight out of *Waiting for Godot*. Where else would an avant-garde musical get its characters? This time they are called Sir (Ritchard) and Cocky (Newley), and there is none of that Samuel Beckett ambiguity about what they stand for. Sir is the master, Cocky the man; Sir is the aristocrat (get it?), Cocky the lower-class type (with accent to match his name). The authors introduce them with a song, "A Wonderful Day Like Today," which sounds like all the songs of the "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin' " variety. Sir sings it straight, but Cocky's reprise is all about how cold and hungry he is. On the surface, the pair look like a criticism of the England the Angry Young Men have known and hated, but before the show is very old we know that, despite their obvious English mannerisms, Sir and Cocky represent the divisions of class and wealth in all the democracies of the West.

Their relationship clear, the game begins. "Play the game for food," says Cocky, heading for a loaf of bread on the center circle; but it is Sir who makes up the rules in a sort of diabolical version of Snakes and Ladders or Uncle Wiggly, and Cocky is sent, empty-handed, back to the start. Before the first act is over, Cocky has played and lost—for

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a job (dignity, presumably), a girl, and power. This is all done to the accompaniment of music. There are songs for Ritchard, who is playing the familiar Ritchard brittle bit; and songs for Newley, who is playing Jerry Lewis and Charlie Chaplin and Stan Laurel and all the patsies in the world. Some are solos and some are done with the chorus and some are done with Sally Smith, who plays The Kid. This last character is the leader of the chorus, the giveaway figure who lets us know in the second act when the initiative shifts from Sir to Cocky. The Kid is tough and cheeky in the comic-newsboy tradition, but Miss Smith makes him seem a little like Debbie Reynolds doing one of her male impersonations.

In the second act, the plot thickens with the entrance of The Negro. Gilbert Price, who plays the part, is an attractive young man with a good voice. He, too, wants to play the game. Cocky, having at last found someone to condescend to, joins forces with Sir to beat The Negro. It looks as though The Negro, forced to play Sir's rules, is about to lose, when in comes Mao Tse-tung. At least, I think it is Mao Tse-tung. He is a chubby, avuncular Chinese who nods and smiles and, without speaking a line, helps The Negro win—whereupon the young man sings "Feeling Good."

After The Negro and Mao go off to run their own game, Sir, badly shaken, tries every trick possible—including one involving a transvestite wrestler—to retain the status quo. Cocky finally wins by threatening not to play at all or to join the rival game. At the end of the show, Cocky and Sir start up the stairs together, carrying a shopping bag between them—a *meaningful* contrast to the opening, when Cocky was burdened with all the luggage. We last see them, silhouettes in a spot, shaking admonishing fingers at one another, rivals still, but equal rivals at last in a game presumably worth playing.

Recently, when I included *Johnny Johnson,* the Kurt Weill-Paul Green pacifist musical, in a course of mine, my students kept pointing out how naïve and pretentious the 1930's could be. And the 1960's?

The Record Clubmen

JOHN M. CONLY

"The record industry," said Goddard Lieberson lately, "is suffering from a very bad case of largesse." Lieberson is an authentic wit as well as president of Columbia Records, but in this case his humor was serious. That is exactly what has happened.

There was a tremendous surge of interest in records after the Second World War, even before LP and the tape process came on the scene. After the new techniques appeared sixteen years ago, the urge to produce became compulsive. In America alone, the industry has put forth on discs something like fifty thousand hours of sound, or some six years' listening (without repetition, of course). Of this bounty, about thirty thousand hours, estimating fifty minutes per LP, are still "active" in catalogues.

Plainly, no retail dealer anywhere can keep in his inventory even one copy of every record published, especially when he must have on hand sixty copies of the latest Beatles album and perhaps a dozen of the newest *Carmen* or *1812 Overture.* There just isn't room. This frustrates the old-style record shopper, the browser-listener, and increasingly he stays away. The inventory shrinks still further, and the mortality rate in dealerships goes up.

To counter this hazard, three of the major companies founded record clubs in 1957. These, offering mail-order convenience, bonuses, and reminders to buy, have been impressively successful but of course do not effectively serve the eclectic, selective buyer. If he wants Beecham's Bizet, Serkin's Mozart, and Rubinstein's Chopin through company clubs, he has to join all three. And he still wouldn't get any Tebaldi or Hermann Scherchen.

Actually his problem has been rather quietly solved. There are now two organizations that can afford him the ease of living-room shopping, discount savings substantially equal to those offered by the company clubs, access to any record of whatever label in the Schwann catalogue, and quality guarantees. Neither requires a subscriber to buy any minimum number of records; both do charge him membership dues. These are the Record Club of America and the Citadel Record Club.

They are not co-ops or any such thing; both are forthright businesses. They are also, it is gratifying to report, upright businesses. Beyond that is their youthful spirit. This is meant literally. The Citadel Club was started in 1961 by two brothers named Allan and Martin Gross, then respectively twenty-nine and twenty-three. However, as Allan Gross says, with uncompetitive enthusiasm, "If people think *we're* young, what about Friedman?" He means Sigmund Friedman, founder-president of the Record Club of America. His club is twice as old as Citadel, and much more than twice as big. Friedman is now all of twenty-six. When he started the club, as a freshman at Brown University, he was eighteen.

The Gross brothers don't vouchsafe figures on membership, except to say that it has tripled in three years. Probably they are apprehensive lest some highly capitalized outsiders, lured by the odor of profit, pounce in. Friedman doesn't worry about this. His membership is very close to a quarter million now, and he has a special safety factor. His enterprise began as the College Record Club, dealt until 1961 with a purely campus clientele, and still has a large unshakable membership of students and recent graduates.

Both of the Grosses are New Yorkers. Sigmund Friedman is a Yorker, having been brought up in York, a German-American city set in the green fields of Pennsylvania that was captured by General Jubal A. Early, CSA, two days before Gettysburg, and ransomed for $100,000 and a thousand pairs of shoes. Had Sigmund Friedman been around at the time, it is a fair guess that Early's troopers would have left bootless but with lifetime member-

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THE REPORTER

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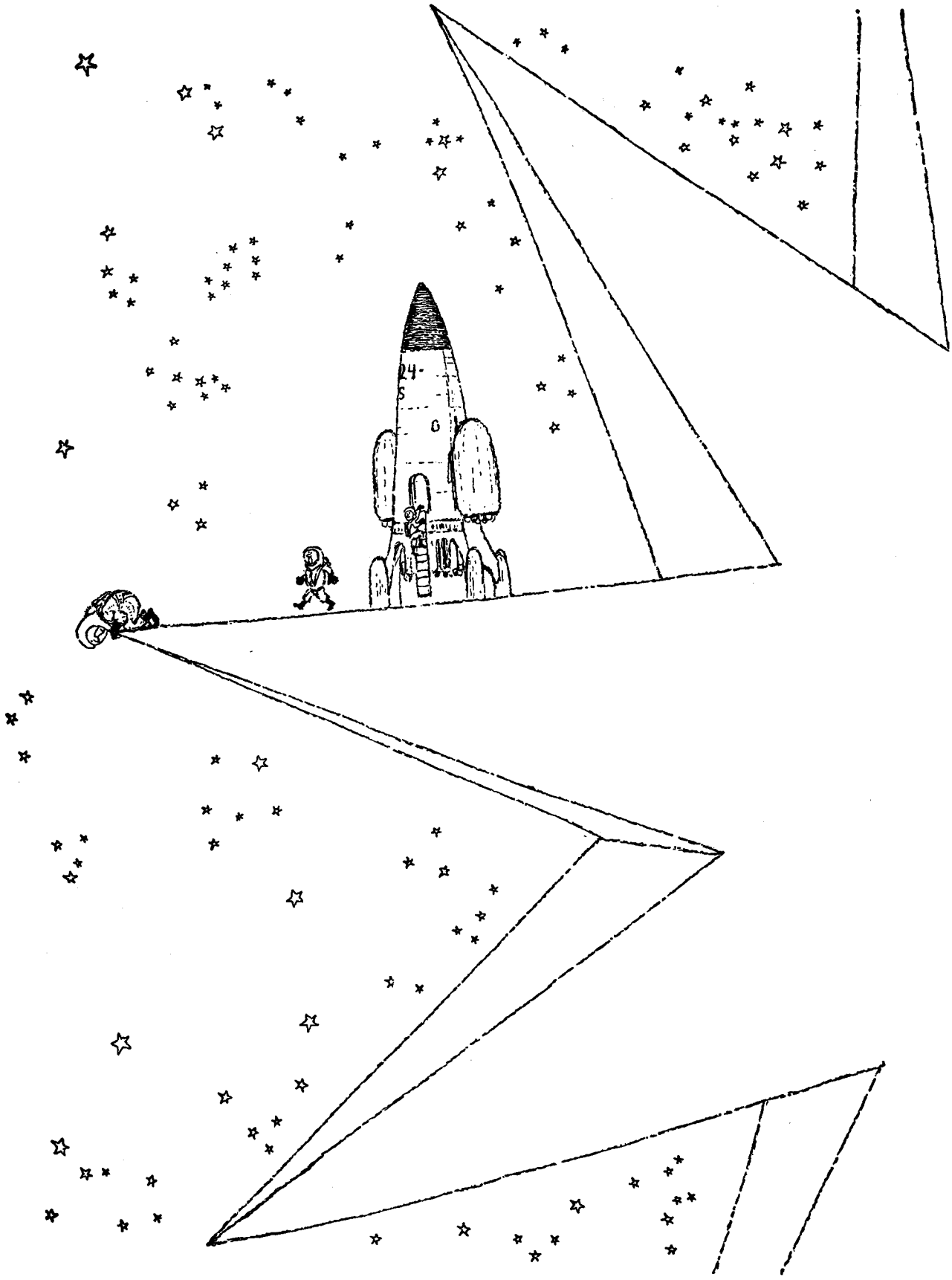

Disspaced Persons by Fernando Krahn

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ships in the Record Club of America.

Friedman began his endeavors at Brown because his scholarship didn't cover his living expenses. First he started a campus newspaper service. While running this, he uncovered a demand (in the economists' sense of the word) for records. He had worked for one summer in a record shop, and knew how to become a distributor. His initial offer was a lifetime membership for $3 and a twenty-five per cent discount on each record (a little less than the usual dealer's markup). Later, he added a credit bonus of $2.50 to any member who enlisted another member. This last device worked wonderfully among students, and he still uses it.

The club grew quickly. In its second year Friedman invaded Princeton, where he managed to enlist the football captain as the Record Club's campus representative, and then Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth. He also relinquished his scholarship, having become more of a success than a scholar. By 1960 he had twenty-two thousand members in colleges across the nation. The life membership fee had risen to $5, but the discount had also been increased to thirty-eight per cent. The present college division of the club has four hundred campus representatives and five full-time field men.

THE GROSS BROTHERS, both C.C.N.Y. men, were aware of the Record Club, though neither joined. Neither they nor Friedman are avid music fanciers or record listeners. Friedman describes himself as a light-classics man; the Grosses enjoy the standard repertoire. What does fascinate all of them is the record as a commodity that by its nature elicits earnest, honest, literate buyers—ideal mail-order customers. Perhaps a slightly contrary factor should be introduced here. What seems to have turned the Gross brothers' attention in the direction of records was their wives' desire for Shakespeare on discs. When they investigated, they discovered that Shakespeare was competitively—and annoyingly—divided up among two record clubs and one record company that didn't have a subscription club at all. This introduced the intolerable hazard of being stuck with the second-best *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Allan Gross at the time was working for Montgomery Ward, Martin for the market-research department of the New York *Daily News*, and both were bored. They held a sort of living-room critique of the record (and book) clubs. Their independent formula for utmost convenience and flexibility was, inevitably, the same one Friedman had discovered more simply by not considering the alternatives.

The Grosses avoided infringing on Friedman's campus territory, and went after the general public, advertising heavily in the upper-middlebrow general-circulation magazines, with heartening success. They also went after a specialized group that Friedman accommodates but gives no special attention: the tape listeners. Citadel has a separate tape club, which now accounts for about an eighth of its business.

The two record outfits became competitive in 1961, when Friedman decided to break out of the sales grooves of Academe. Taking into account the disparity in size, they are not unevenly matched.

For most people, the Record Club of America is slightly less expensive. Citadel's membership fee is $3 annually, and its discount is three per cent lower than the Record Club's. Conversely, the Record Club of America has a flat mail-charge of thirty cents a record, whereas Citadel charges forty cents for the first disc and ten cents for each successive one, an equalizing process. Also, by virtue of its size, the Record Club can offer special sales that its competitor cannot match. Last year these involved about eight thousand record titles, going at approximately half price. Citadel's special sales are intermittent and more limited in variety.

In speed of service, Citadel has a considerable lead. This is mainly a matter of size, geography, and clientele. At its Pennsylvania headquarters in York, the Record Club has twenty thousand square feet of office and inventory space, seventy people, and more than three tons of new IBM machinery. The machinery won't even heed an account until its ZIP-code number is in. Also it includes an Autotypist that can answer any hundred commonly asked questions. Since it has to be fed selectively, queries like "Is Thomas Schippers married?" or "How do I address a fan letter to Peter, Paul, and Mary?" must be weeded out. This takes time, as does the rather stern and complicated correspondence the Record Club requires. It demands, for instance, notification in advance of a record's return for credit. Both clubs return rejects automatically to the manufacturer; no used record is resold.

Since Citadel's clients mostly embody a sort of household permanency, it employs no defensive measures, eschews punch cards when possible, and lets people write in options. Further, its service functions take place on West Forty-third Street in Manhattan, closer to main mail routes than York, and more importantly, in the heart of the record manufacturers' warehouse territory. Sometimes this enables the staff to fill even exotic orders on the day they come in. A Citadel order is filled in about a week or less, a Record Club order in something like twice that time. Allan Gross is so justifiably proud of his company's celerity that he has been advertising three-month free-trial (no entrance fee) memberships as a challenge to impatient customers. Neither company volunteers buying counsel or conducts searches for rarities.

Friedman has another asset that the Grosses haven't really matched, a small monthly booklet called *Disc*, handsomely produced in Philadelphia by editor Jane Paskman. In essence it consists of the monthly "yellow pages"—the new entries—from the Schwann Long Playing Record Catalog. Friedman intends soon to incorporate in *Disc* short, vivacious guidance articles by musical and critical notables. The Grosses have a much less ambitious flier issued every six weeks.

WHAT both clubs reiterate constantly is the near-certainty that they have merely scratched the nationwide potential. There have got to be more than a half-million listeners throughout the continent, and it is much more enlivening to find them than to steal them. Moreover, the dual task may contribute toward *the* saving solution of what plagues the whole record industry, which is a heady thought.

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BOOKS

Watch for the Birdie

ANTHONY WEST

QUEEN VICTORIA: BORN TO SUCCEED, by Elizabeth Longford. *Harper & Row. $8.50.*

It may as well be made clear that Elizabeth Countess of Longford's plum pudding of a biography of Queen Victoria is an entertaining work which will be perfectly satisfying to all those who enjoy the anecdotal side of history. When that has been said, however, and when Lady Longford has been congratulated for the thoroughness with which she has covered the ground, the reservation must be entered that it is a work of entertainment and no more than that.

As a biography of the Queen it suffers from the defect of an uncritical acceptance of the mystique of royalty that was sedulously manufactured during the nineteenth century. By the accident of being born at the right time Victoria became the inevitable beneficiary of the process, and it can fairly be said that she was bound by circumstances to be transformed into a "great" queen and into the equal of the first Elizabeth, provided only that she succeeded in remaining on the throne for the term of her natural life.

The extraordinary way in which the cards were stacked in her favor, and from the first, is exemplified by the classical treatment of the incident at Victoria's coronation when Lord Rolle, a gentleman in his eighties, slipped and fell down the short flight of steps leading to the throne. The Queen, then a girl of nineteen, is usually given extravagant praise for rising to her feet and showing signs of concern for the aged peer, though she would clearly have been an inhuman monster if she had done anything else. This was clear to most normally intelligent people at the time, and Lady Longford quotes the remark of "a lady from the country" who was present to the effect that "You or I might save a dozen old gentlemen from a tumble, but no one would cheer us."

By the end of the Queen's life, however, the cheers had drowned out the reservations of common sense, and everything to do with the rather ordinary old lady had become marvelous. Lady Longford has not been able to withstand the contagion. Both the Queen and her frustrated schemer of a husband, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, liked music to some extent, so, because they are royalties, we get this:

"His unsatisfied, spiritual longings were expressed in music. The perceptive Lady Lyttleton once heard him, after his marriage, playing the organ: she saw something in his face which made her feel that only the instrument really knew what was in his soul. Music affected Queen Victoria in somewhat the same way: even after she lost her first prettiness observers noticed that her face was transfigured and could still look almost beautiful when listening to music."

This is not far from the level of Crawfie, the royal governess who in 1952 told all in *Elizabeth the Queen,* and it is one of the most disagreeable features of monarchy that it can bring such otherwise intelligent people as Lady Longford down so low. It may be said that the point is trivial, and that a harmless game of let's-pretend is all that is involved. But Crawfieism is habit-forming, and when it is applied to history it produces grotesquely misleading results. Victoria succeeded to the throne as the consequence of an event that took place before her birth—the death, with her baby, in childbed of the Prince Regent's daughter, the Princess Charlotte. Of this occurrence Lady Longford writes:

"If the husband was desolate so was the country. As the appalling news circulated on that dismal morning of 6 November 1817, people realised with horror that there was no one left to whom they could give their hearts."

In relation to the intensity of the social conflicts that were tearing England apart in the years of the Liverpool administration—Lord Sidmouth was then running the country on the lines of an exceptionally unpleasant kind of police state—this observation can only be called ridiculous. The complete alienation in feeling and interest of the upper from the lower classes brought about by the first and hideously brutal phase of the industrial revolution is demonstrated with an abundance of evidence in E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (Pantheon). It was precisely this divorce of the classes from the masses that gives the quotation above its absurdity, that made the fabrication of the new mystique of royalty a necessity. The remorseless publicization of the head of the state as a personality was deliberately undertaken to humanize the bleak citizen-state relationship in the new factory and slum society. After the great scare of the Paris Commune in 1871, Disraeli began to promote the Queen, just as at an earlier stage he had promoted worthless South American mining stocks. The final apotheosis, the transformation of the demanding, self-regarding, and self-satisfied old woman into the wise and loving mother at large of the nation—the Queen of the Diamond Jubilee—coincided with the high noon of imperialism, and was brought about by the techniques of high-pressure product advertising. The Jubilee was purely and simply a spectacular designed to "sell" the expenditure of millions of public money on the land grabbing in Africa and Asia which was yielding such rich pickings for the speculators in the City. A biographer who is not prepared to be realistic about the nature of the tremendous piece of image-building public-relations work for which the Queen provided the peg is not going to throw much light on the subject of modern monarchy.

THE CRUX of the Queen's life was her relationship with the complex and peculiarly minded William

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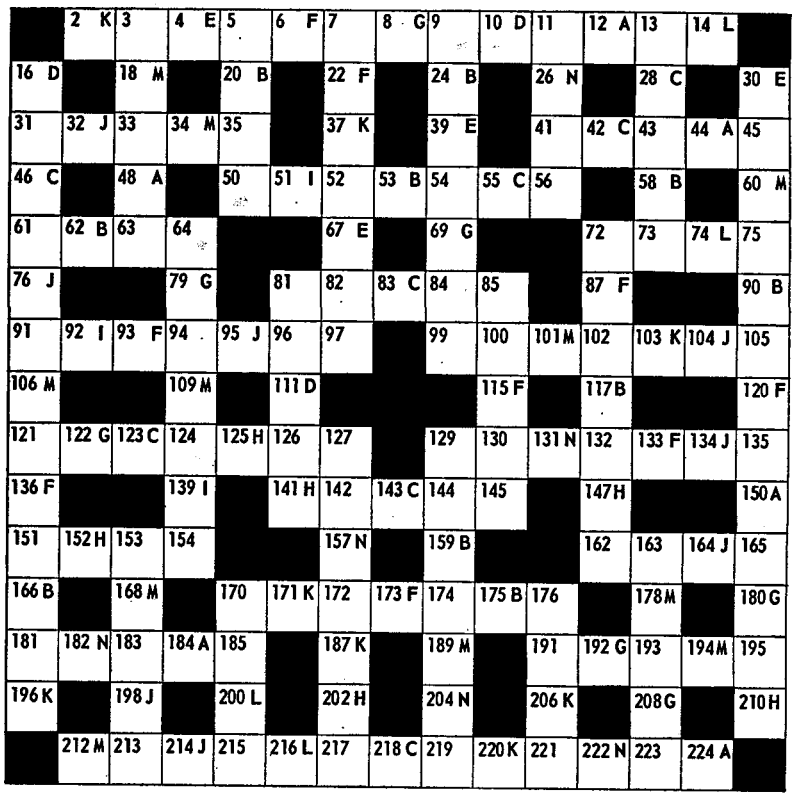
THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 123

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
150 184 44 48 12 224 Set at an angle.

B
24 20 53 159 58 117 90 166 62 175 A major division of the earth.

C
143 83 42 28 46 218 55 123 Haughty.

D
10 111 16 Scour, polish, erase.

E
4 39 30 67 "If we are marked to die, we are enow / To do our country _____." Shakespeare, "Henry V."

F
6 93 115 87 120 22 133 136 173 Mistaken.

G
8 79 69 208 192 180 122 A period of conducting classes.

H
147 152 202 125 210 141 "Coarse complexions / And _____of sorry grain will serve to ply / The sampler..." Milton, "Comus."

I
92 51 139 A box-office smash.

J
214 95 104 198 32 164 134 76 "The Divine Comedy," "The Faërie Queene," and "Pilgrim's Progress" are examples of this.

K
37 103 196 2 220 187 171 206 Politics has been defined as the art of the this.

L
74 200 14 216 Shakespeare is said to have had "small Latin and _____Greek." Ben Jonson.

M
34 168 212 189 18 106 194 109 101 178 60 The period between reigns.

N
26 204 157 222 182 131 A seiner, for example.

ACROSS

2. The media through which the Acrostician came to fame (6,7).
31. A profit once more undoubtedly.
41. Roy in a sarcastic mood.
50. A girl's best friend which every maid would don.
61. Enlarged in meagre work.
72. He precedes the long playing record to seek assistance.
81. Sprinkle as we go backward up the short street.
91. It's still about time for excitement.
99. Took his cross-country jog alone but passed on orals (3,4).
121. Describes the eager beaver and the social butterfly (2,3,2).
129. From cause to effect or one pair rearranged (1,6).
141. Looks over the can on board.
151. A shy old way used by our great grandparents for transport.
162. We are backward but about on before.
170. One who recolors the loss of an erg.
181. Glare in kingly fashion.
191. One who signs on others in a Yorkshire regiment.
212. Sent rays across and through.

DOWN

3. Atier, i.e., in rows, or really angry.
5. Sell in seven days but finish after five.
7. Go sparse on tea in preparing meals.
9. Color ocher so to get an elector.
11. Dine with Gareth's girl, if you like.
13. So one once made a slip knot.
16. The accoutrements of the Acrostician (5,8).
30. Why mock prison in a major opus? (9,4).
64. Why I get heavy.
72. The hotel that put hops on ice.
81. Dummy cartridges for ugly assets but no yeasts.
85. Makes crooked and wraps around too.
127. The tenth of twelve starts with eighth apparently.
129. Licorice flavor needs A-1 marking.
153. The substantive for 3 down gotten up nearly as Lear's second child.
163. Care for the doctor's assistant.
170. A rocky valley in Scotland, especially in Ogle, Nairn, and Nevis.
176. The mother of the gods; akin to Hera.

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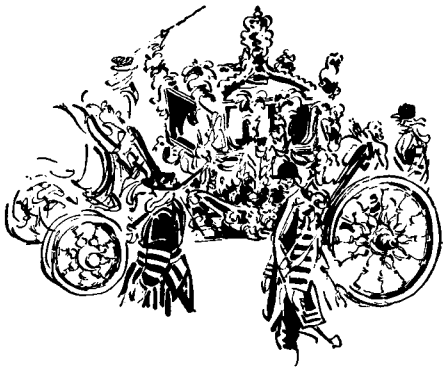
Ewart Gladstone. It would take a great deal of space and much quotation to show how grossly Lady Longford oversimplifies Gladstone's thinking and the issues that lay between the Queen and the minister during his periods in office, but her technique of oversimplification can be illustrated compactly by reference to her mention of the Queen's later controversy with Sir William Harcourt, a Liberal chancellor of the exchequer. "Harcourt's epoch-making introduction of death duties," says Lady Longford, "she rightly regarded as a 'revolution,' inciting Rosebery to emasculate them even at the eleventh hour." Brief as this remark is, it does manage to give an altogether false impression that the Queen actually understood the effects that the duties would have, and wished to prevent them. But what her letters on this question show is that she believed (this is in 1895) that the big country houses, as such, played an important sustaining role in the national economy, and that widespread unemployment and what Victorians liked to call "distress" would follow on their disappearance. Since this inane conception was the stated basis of her concern in the matter, Lady Longford's "rightly" seems overgenerous.

There is something fantastic, too, in the claim, which has its bearing on her feelings about Gladstone, that the Queen was at heart an egalitarian and an advocate of a classless society. Lady Longford puts this notion forward on the strength of a passage from a letter in the Royal Archives at Windsor. The quotation and her added comment run as follows:

" 'That division of classes is the *one thing* which is most dangerous & reprehensible, never intended by the law of nature & wh the Queen is always labouring to alter . . . The present Archbishop of York's Father was a butcher, & so on.'

"It was a pity that the Radical members of Queen Victoria's later Parliaments could not hear her dilating on that butcher in a manner worthy of John Ball himself."

These Radicals might have been impressed but are not likely to have remained so for long, since the Queen was sure that education for the masses had taken a wrong direction; that it was "preventing labour being adequately honoured, and so servants are more difficult to get and deal with." She made this sage observation to Lord Cranbrook in 1885, and she had made an approving note of a similar view in 1878, so that the point of view may be taken as a matter of settled conviction. Her egalitarianism thus has to be reconciled with the idea of an ideal society that would produce a steady supply of docile domestics from a pool of workers conditioned by "suitable" education to be contented with menial tasks. It has further to be reconciled with her view of monarchy as proprietorship; nothing ever shook her from the



position that a kingdom was the private estate of its sovereign. Her opposition to the unification of Italy was only in part due to her husband's Pan-Germanism; it was more directly based on her feeling that it could only be achieved at the sacrifice of the perfectly valid legal title to Parma, Modena, and Venetia held by the Austrian royal family. That the question was one for the Italian people to decide was as ludicrous to her as the notion that the Irish should be allowed to determine whether their country should continue to form a part of the United Kingdom.

THE SECRET of the Queen's intense loathing for Gladstone lies in this neighborhood. Lady Longford skirts the point by saying that the Queen was jealous of her minister's popularity, and that by making his appeal to the masses he was trespassing on a loyalty that was due to her. All the evidence suggests that it went deeper than that, and that the question of sovereignty itself was involved. She began to dislike Gladstone when he sided with Palmerston in supporting the Italian popular demand for freedom from foreign rule, and her dislike turned to loathing when he first embraced the principle of manhood suffrage. This would appear to be because that principle involves first the recognition of natural right, and then of the principle that rulers rule by consent of the sovereign people. This she could not accept since she believed that sovereignty, and all its duties and responsibilities, had been placed in her hands by a higher power.

She believed, having been brought up in the shadow of the French Revolution, that the doctrine of popular sovereignty was quite simply a concoction by wicked men who wanted to help themselves to other people's property. The rights of property were in her view the foundation on which society was built, and when Gladstone decided that the rights of certain classes of property owners in Ireland had to be modified by legislation she began to think of him as a half-crazy firebrand. That she felt this way during the century in which the newly liberated middle class was carrying the abuse of private property rights to lengths undreamed of in any previous age was probably the principal element in the secret of her success: her simple greed for privilege was nicely in tune with the greed for material advantage of the dominant class in the society over which she presided with such assurance.

This mental fellowship and the Queen's ultimate social function are recognized by Lady Longford in the course of a truly remarkable discussion of the question of how far the Queen ever went toward an understanding of the realities of her constitutional position. This will be found, toward the end of the book, under a chapter heading worthy of Crawfie herself—"Mother's Come Home." "On occasion," Lady Longford writes, "she might flout the will of her people, constitutionally expressed at the polls, yet in some inexplicable way the General Will—that most elusive of political concepts—was expressed in her person." Lady Longford goes on to quote Lord Salisbury on this aspect of the Queen's peculiar genius. He was the

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Conservative leader who once uttered the memorable saying to the effect that the Irish, the Hottentots, and the Hindus were alike in being temperamentally unfit for self-government, and it was his view that when he knew what the Queen was thinking on any public question he knew what the English were thinking.

When Lady Longford comments on Lord Salisbury's opinion, "In a Queen, this was the best substitute for meticulous constitutionalism and her people knew it," it becomes fairly plain that the mystique of monarchy, as represented by Victoria, had the social function of preventing rational thought about the realities of the governmental process. A thoughtful reader is bound to speculate, after he has finished Lady Longford's book without learning anything whatever about the use of executive power during the Queen's long reign, on the possibility that a similar social function is to be performed by the mystique that in the United States is rapidly gathering round the Presidential office.

Love Among The Artifacts

MARCUS KLEIN

ONE DAY, by Wright Morris. *Atheneum. $5.95.*

One might enumerate the persons, all named Wright Morris, who have gone into the making of Wright Morris. One Morris is a yarn-spinner, of the by-golly-and-by-cracky school. One Morris, very literary, is infatuated with James Joyce. Another is a bardic visionary, reciting an oracular message. There is a Wright Morris who is a dogged curator of things natively American, past and present, whose patron would seem to be Sherwood Anderson. There is a Wright Morris who has read far too much, another who is simply a photographer engaged in making picturesque graphic compositions amidst the local color, another who is an irrepressible punster, and one more who is a frantic metaphysician all but overborne by the other-worldly suggestiveness in all worldly things.

Put all together, they create a great deal of confusion, a prose so arch as to seem sometimes incapable of statement, but also, incredibly, a body of fiction that is coherent, unique, and clarifying.

With his new novel, Morris has now written sixteen books. More accurately, he has now written his one book for the sixteenth time. The ostensible subject of this version is the assassination of President Kennedy—the "one day" of the title is November 22, 1963—and the effect of the assassination on a number of the residents of Escondido, California. By a process of reflecting the event through the lives of some ordinary American citizens, the novel promises to explain the extraordinary gesture of the American boy Lee Harvey Oswald. But in fact it deals virtually not at all with the particularities either of Oswald or of the assassination, and the day might be any other day. The real subject is the lives of a cluster of characters usual in Morris's fiction: commonplace Americans, essentially small-town types no matter in what landscape they are discovered, who are at once rootless and rooted in their tracks, who suffer a sense of disconnection, and who are taken together to represent a field full of American folk.

The folk, *passim,* are affected in one way and another by the peculiar American artifacts they find around them. In previous versions of the novel the artifacts tended to be such things as peeling Mail Pouch signs on abandoned barns, the rumblings of freight trains at isolated crossings, the "Monkey Ward" catalogue; the folk found themselves compelled backwards and baffled by longing for their own rural past. In later instances, the artifacts have become the symbols of an ultimate imprisonment, and the victims of them have been moved to one or another kind of liberating audacity. A few years ago, in an interview, Morris diagnosed the career of his writing as an escape from "regressive nostalgic commitment"; at about the same time his writing became more topical and less rural in its references, but the chief effect of the transition was that Morris began to

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conceive of more topical things—motels, automobiles, popular songs, Man Tan, the atom bomb—as the American artifacts, all provided with a malign, threatening life of their own.

In *One Day* the characters are suburbanites, which is to say displaced persons, once again at war with the rampant dumb things of their lives. Escondido is, among other things, a parking-meter jungle. An ice-vending machine captures one of its parishioners by regurgitating ice at her without stopping, and as an indirect result another resident dies. Meanwhile, once again, the total adventure of those who survive is to pursue a desire for human connection.

They are doomed. They conspicuously fail to connect, or at best they are driven to fatal compromise. In Escondido, affection goes to dogs and cats. The major characters of *One Day* are a veterinarian; the misanthropic superintendent of the local pound; the town benefactress, whose chief endowment is the pound; and her rebellious daughter, who delivers to the pound her illegitimate baby. In Escondido, the SPCA is the cathedral to which the residents come to ease their hearts' loneliness, and therefore it is the center of what community life there is.

But this perception of the cloistered, thing-ridden loneliness of American lives is only one half of Morris's apprehension. The other half is a perception of the radical liberating gestures that frustration periodically breeds. In the earliest versions of Morris's book, those gestures tended to be seen as the mark of a minor heroism. The hero of *My Uncle Dudley,* Morris's first novel, published in 1942, is an elderly vagabond whose value is his corny, refreshing little audacities. As the years have gone by, the gesturing has become more extreme, and finally at least as frightening as the impotent loneliness which is its cause. What was the quixotic perkiness of an old man in *My Uncle Dudley* became, in *The Huge Season* (1954), an avidity for self-destruction. Now in *One Day* it becomes in one figuration the motive of the rebellious daughter who deposits her child among the dogs and cats in order, she says, to make a *protest* that would "horrify people," and it becomes in another figuration the motive of Lee Harvey Oswald:

"A free man, [Lee Oswald] testified to the horrible burden of freedom: how connect with some*thing*? How relate to some*one*? It was no accident that he singled out the man who represented the maximum of human connections, and displaced this man, this symbol of connections, with himself. . . . impotence persuaded Oswald not to strike out blindly but with cunning at the heart of the matter: a man who could act. . . . In its extremity such impotence made a man murderously potent. If he could not act he could *protest.*"

Probably this says little about the assassination that is useful. The ascribed motive is general; there was only the one Oswald. Worse, Oswald has been gathered into the novel as a symptom not qualitatively different from the many pop references to Barcaloungers, Miltown, and Jessica Mitford, all symptoms of the country's going to the dogs. Nevertheless, the ascribed motive is generally and hauntingly plausible, and the plausible effect of the assassination on the residents of Escondido is to trap them between impossible options, loneliness on the one hand and murder on the other.

Given this kind of apprehension, of course there is no possibility of the novel's proceeding, as a well-made novel should, toward a climactic realization. At the end, the young lady with the bastard is proclaimed an oracle and the vessel of the future, but that is just question-begging. Between loneliness and murder, the novel has nowhere to go, and the trap closes in on Wright Morris, too. The history of all the sixteen volumes of Morris's one book—including two volumes of photo-texts and one of literary criticism—is his going back again and again to virtually the same materials seemingly in order to find a way out, to discover something in American life that is firm, satisfying, enduring, indubitably real, and available for connection—and failing. *One Day* is a series of ironic monologues, which have in common a sensibility for failure. The result is not only a narrative but a prose made up of asides, brief posturings, aborted questionings, witty evasions, involutions, and sudden contradictions. Morris has always been ready to be beguiled by a pun. He has always been willing to try on somebody else's style. In his last few novels he has come to depend on rhetorical questions, so that at any moment a character will simply give up and address the gods.

Nevertheless, the very frustration in Morris's prose is appropriate and informative. The characters of *One Day,* as they circle around each other, speculate obsessively on their defaulted connections. They duck, wheel, blurt, make gestures, and fail to finish sentences. Their speculations lead nowhere. Ultimately, their frustrations have been their only adventures. They go off briefly in all directions, and at the end the novel brings them back to the bewilderment with which they began—and what is accomplished in this antic circularity is a comic, desperate, credible version of the middle part of American life. «»

Refighting Dien Bien Phu

BERNARD B. FALL

The Battle of Dienbienphu, by Jules Roy. Translated by Robert Baldick. Introduction by Neil Sheehan. *Harper & Row. $6.95.*

Jules Roy is a remarkable man—the total antithesis of his own past and environment. A regular French Air Force officer who had served with distinction in a Free French bomber squadron, he resigned from the service in 1953 rather than serve in the "unjust and idiotic" Indochina war. Algeria-born, he hated the *colon* mentality and wrote the blistering *The War in Algeria* (1961), which by American terms bordered on the seditious. French enough to reproach his Communist escorts at Dien Bien Phu for not having built a memorial for France's dead, he nevertheless admits that had the French won the battle, they too

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would have buried their enemies like carrion.

Such sidelights make Roy's new volume a remarkable human document, illuminated with hundreds of incisive vignettes. But as a historical account it stands on extremely shaky ground, for the author decided to become a party to one of the more remarkable French military feuds of the past decade. Though on a smaller scale than the Marshal Montgomery-vs.-Everybody hassle, the battle between General Henri Navarre, the former French commander-in-chief in Indochina, and General René Cogny, his subordinate commander in North Vietnam (which included the Dien Bien Phu battle zone), has been smoldering for eleven years. It led to an open court fight in 1956 when Navarre published his side of the story, and to a repeated exchange of "open letters" between the two generals. The French courts wisely refused to take sides in the strategic evaluation of the situation, although Navarre did withdraw some small passages from the original version of his book. On the other hand, Cogny, who once was the youngest of all French major generals and considered a "comer," now languishes in a paper command, making contingency plans for military operations in the former French Central Africa.

It was Cogny who passed to Roy such documentation as he presents. Roy never secured access to the French Army Documents Section, where the bulk of the Dien Bien Phu files—tons of them—are stored; nor did he have access to the files of the air force and navy, dealing with the essential problem of air support for the encircled fortress. Neither did Roy speak with "all the principal actors," as the dust jacket states: several of the senior strongpoint commanders, incensed over his Algerian views, refused to talk to him. Hence there is a serious imbalance in Roy's argumentation, which goes from the overly detailed description of Navarre's innermost thoughts ("He toyed with those problems of the conflict which he did not dare face") to a rather slipshod description of the battle itself.

Of course it is not Roy's fault that his American publisher amputated an elaborate chronological section

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that represented one-third of the entire French version. Inclusion of some of that material would have restored to the anecdotal sections of the book a part of their documentary value. But even then, the lack of access to the documentation would prove fatal. I have spoken with officers who were there and could not remember the exact name of their strongpoint commander until they saw the official table of organization; others could not remember which strongpoint their unit manned until they saw the situation maps again.

THERE ARE simply too many mistakes to cite them all here. At the outset of the whole operation, for instance, we read how sixty aircraft of the Dakota type (U.S. C-47s) released "three thousand parachutes" in ten minutes—a physical impossibility since each aircraft only has twenty-four seats. According to the official French Air Force reports, that first wave on the valley dropped 1,800 paratroopers. Roy puts Colonel Langlais in command of the airborne force—though (as Langlais' own book shows) he broke an ankle upon landing and was immediately replaced by Colonel Fourcade.

As an old infantry hand, I can only sympathize with both the author's and the translator's ignorance of Vinogel, a horrible French Army discovery that transformed wine into a jellified concentrate, to be reconstituted into something drinkable with the help of rice-field water—Roy calls it "frozen wine." As an old Indochina hand I must also deplore his lack of geographical knowledge that makes him describe an amphibious landing in southern Annam as taking place in "the deserted plateau of the Bolovens"—a mountain region in landlocked Laos that is not within two hundred miles of the area. Then a Captain Guilleminot is described as the commander of the Third Thai Battalion at Dien Bien Phu, while in fact it was commanded by a Major Thimonier. There are literally scores of such factual errors.

But there are other and more painful errors, particularly when Roy tries to prove too much. It is obvious that the French high command had made some grievous mistakes—the most notable (although the author would not agree with me in this) being that it did not believe fifty thousand enemy troops could be effectively supplied by coolies in the face of heavy aerial interdiction. (This illusion, Sheehan notes in his introduction, still seems to be shared by the U.S. Military Assistance Command in Saigon.) But Roy seeks to prove not only that the French (i.e., General Navarre) were stupid but that they did not know what they were doing, and that they despised their enemy. That is simply not true. Roy alleges that the French commander in the fortress, the unfortunate General de Castries, had called his opponents "cowards" in a leaflet dropped on them. The text of

the leaflets (No. 25/FTNV/GP, in official parlance) invited the Communist commander to attack Dien Bien Phu in the best seventeenth-century style, which went rather well with de Castries's ducal background, and ended as follows: "It might well be that you would lose face in front of your troops, to whose courage, as a soldier, I must render homage. Come! I am waiting for you!"

Another point that Roy could have verified with greater precision is that of whether or not a white flag was flying over Dien Bien Phu when it fell. He cites as evidence one single article in a Foreign Legion magazine. But the rest of the evidence is against him; most importantly, perhaps—and it would have suited them well, had it been true—not even the Communists ever alleged that such a flag had been flying there! The only propaganda picture shown by them of the fall of de Castries's bunker shows four Vietminh soldiers waving their own flag, Iwo Jima style, over the position.

Roy's over-all evaluation of the tactical situation is also questionable. He asserts that the Communist emplacement of artillery on slopes facing the enemy was a radical innovation. Nonsense: the Communists had been doing it for years in Korea, according to a noted historian of that war, S. L. A. Marshall. Much is made of the case that the French violated the axiomatic rule that one must hold the high ground in order to win. Nonsense again: if you have enough firepower, you can nullify that axiom, just as the Allied forces did in 1943-1944 in Italy, butting the Nazis off ridge after ridge, across the Goering Line and the Hitler Line and the Gothic Line. It is admittedly easier the other way, but sometimes the choice simply does not exist. To occupy the high ridges at Dien Bien Phu would have required a garrison of forty thousand men instead of fifteen thousand. So many men were not available, and had they been, they could not have been supplied by air at that time.

There *were* real errors, but as they were in Cogny's area of responsibility, we do not hear much about them: for example, the fact that Cogny never ordered de Castries to test whether his reserve forces could reach the outlying strongpoints even at night and under fire. That test was played through once—as a map exercise. When it was actually carried out, the tanks got stuck in the barbed wire and part of the infantry lost its way. Roy was not told by Cogny, nor did he find out for himself, that the Combat Engineers had requested 30,000 tons of engineering materials to build shellproof bunkers, but were given only 3,800 tons, with the result that all bunkers (except de Castries's command post, the communications center, and the operating room) sooner or later collapsed under fire. As Navarre still maintains, he was "responsible" for the decision to fight at Dien Bien Phu—but he is not "guilty" of losing it. That responsibility lay (and the French government commission that later investigated the battle minces no words about this) with the area commander who conducted the battle: General Cogny. Roy either never understood this or chose not to say it.

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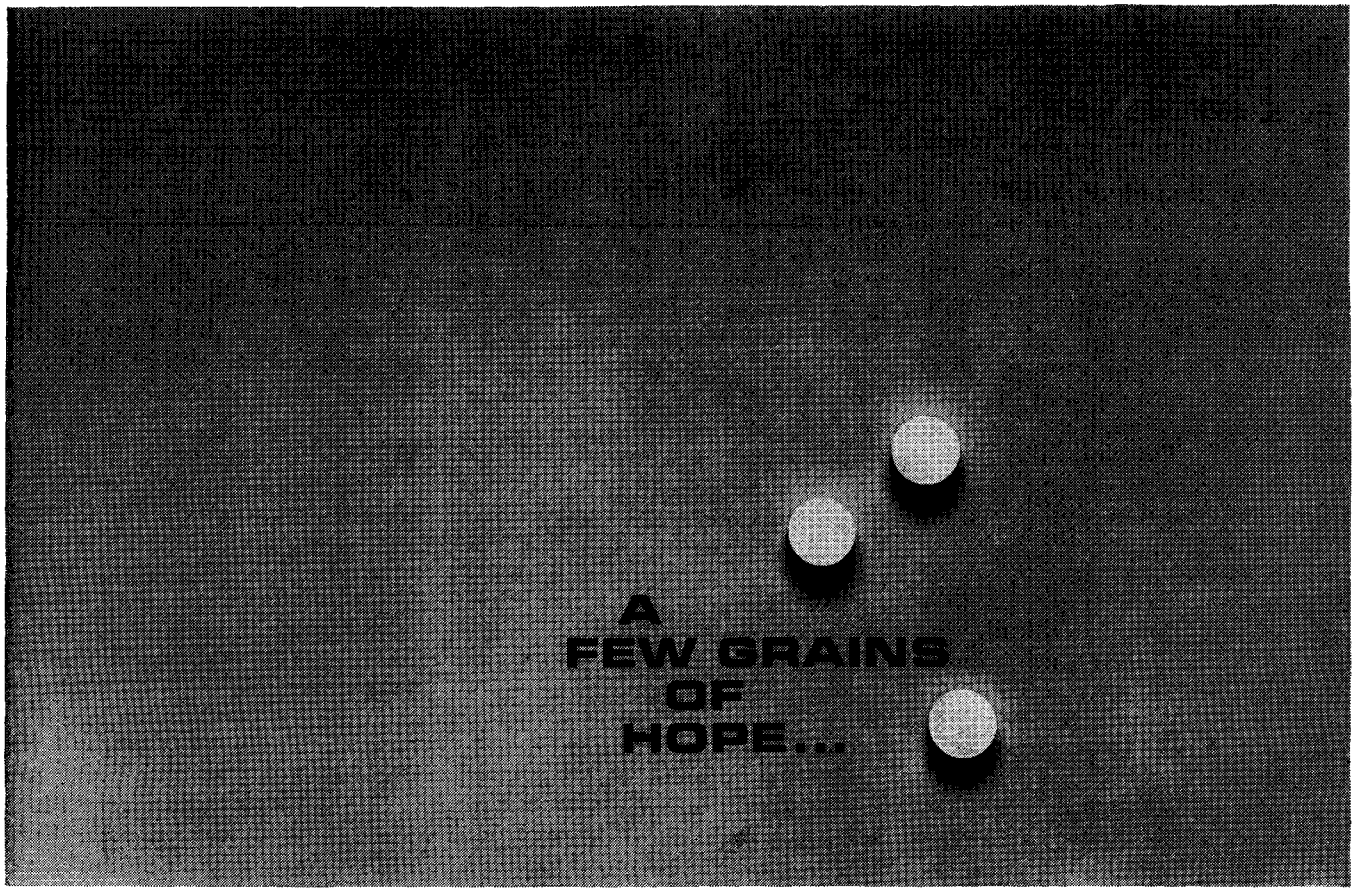
GREAT MOMENTS AT CHICAGO



On September 22, 1940, a man with an advanced case of cancer of the prostate was given a new pill. It was a synthetic organic chemical with estrogenic properties of female sex hormones, costing about five cents. Two days later the patient was out of bed. After further doses, he went back to work — hard manual labor — becoming the first proof that a hormone could affect any kind of cancer in man. The age of treatment of cancer by drugs had begun. The man who linked the drug to the disease, Dr. Charles Brenton Huggins, went back to his work — at the University of Chicago — and in 1963 was named one of the winners of the Albert Lasker Awards for Medical Research for his success in the hormone treatment of cancer.* His continuing contributions are part of Chicago's distinguished history of achievement in medical and biological research — work that has its quietly dramatic announcement in books like these:

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An Epitaph For Excess

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

THE AGE OF EXCESS: THE UNITED STATES FROM 1877 TO 1914, by Ray Ginger. *Macmillan. $5.95.*

The late nineteenth century marks the harsh drive to maturity of American industrial capitalism from its beginnings in the Jacksonian period to its settling down into an economy of consumption after the First World War.

The stresses and strains of the passage were severe, as even the bare figures will show. Between 1820 and 1920, nearly forty million immigrants entered the United States; far more than half came between 1880 and 1914. At the same moment, the United States moved from a rural and agrarian to an urban and industrial way of life; in the ten years from 1880 to 1890, for example, the urban population rose over fifty per cent. The machine, which in 1850 provided only a shade more than five per cent of American industrial power, came to dominate the economy. A vast and swiftly constructed railroad network drew all sections of the country into a single national market economy.

Behind the statistics and charts lies the subject of history: the lives and consciousness of human beings. Native Americans as well as immigrants were uprooted from their customary ways. New sources of power, new ways of life, and new modes of thought transformed the meaning of American life. Contemporaries then and historians now have struggled to discern what this meant.

RAY GINGER, in *The Age of Excess,* offers a new reading of this American experience. His book moves quickly beyond economics to politics, popular aspirations, literature and art, but the plot is economic and the theme is disaster. In the frantic race for money, "The United States became a country of men in flight, running over unmarked fields without traditions to guide them or visions to serve as beacons, with no havens for rest and no end but the grave, with no goal but wealth, and of wealth there is never enough."

The result of America's "flight from reality" was self-delusion and hypocrisy. In politics, "McKinley was prone to believe his own twaddle"; Theodore Roosevelt "quickly made the White House into the chief flapdoodle factory in the nation"; "Wilson was in tune with the times, and the most votes went to the man with the best pulpit manner." In religion, "the natural human tendency to delude oneself had long been stimulated in the United States by evangelical religion." In law, "Empty words, illogic, and self-contradiction permeated the constitutional law of the period." The general result? "The American mind, then, was like my grandmother's attic, crammed with junk: an old four poster Victorian code of behavior, educational furniture from Louis Quatorze to *chic moderne,* ethics carved by cave men. It held everything from baby curls to bowie knives. The baby curl might even be knotted daintily about the bloody knife." Ginger agrees with Eugene Debs, about whom he has written a fine biography, that Americans could have anything they want; "The trouble is they do not want anything." At the end of his book he concludes that in what was once a "society of independent men," the average American arrived at confusion.

The Education of Henry Adams (a book that Ginger thinks is "steeped in anti-Semitism") has shown us that a brilliant reading of American history may be organized around images of disaster and the theme of failure; the difficulty with Ginger's book lies not with whether we like his meaning but finally with how he argues that meaning.

Discussing the rise of organization and bureaucracy in response to the emergence of a national market economy, he concludes that "centralization of control was not needed for efficiency; it came about because wealth meant power, and thereby gave men of wealth the chance to get more power, and they did." Few historians today would disagree with the conclusion that, in the absence of social instruments of economic control, American society paid a high price to a few men for imposing order on the chaotic conditions of competitive capitalism; but to conclude that the corporate form of business organization emerged in response to a hunger for wealth and power tells us nothing about the history we wish to know. Though its thesis is derived from an economic theory of causation, *The Age of Excess* provides almost nothing in the way of a deeper understanding of the particulars of economic forces.

WHEN Ginger moves from economics and politics to the culture at large, the result is no more satisfactory. In just six pages, he treats the following: New Orleans jazz, pure science and invention, the Roeblings and Brooklyn Bridge, Frank Lloyd Wright, Henri and Bellows and the Ashcan School of painting, the Armory Show, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Jane Addams and Hull House, John Dewey, and W. E. B. DuBois and Negro education. To compress ten such topics into six pages is to deny oneself the chance to say anything about any one. Further, and more importantly, how do such figures and events illuminate the meaning of "excess"? What is the relation between all this and excess productive capacity and a society of self-delusion and flight?

The Age of Excess is embarrassed by its own evidence. These years of tumultuous social and economic change encompass many of the extraordinary achievements of American culture. In literature, Mark Twain and Henry James and William Dean Howells. In painting, Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins and Albert Pinkham Ryder. In architecture, H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright. In philosophy, Charles Sanders Peirce and William James and Josiah Royce. In social thought, Louis Henry Morgan and William Graham Sumner and Lester Frank Ward. One could extend the list, but the point is that Mr. Ginger sees all this yet concludes that the period is one of meaninglessness and confusion. His book is curiously old-fashioned in its uncritical assertion of an economic theory of culture and in its muckraking style.

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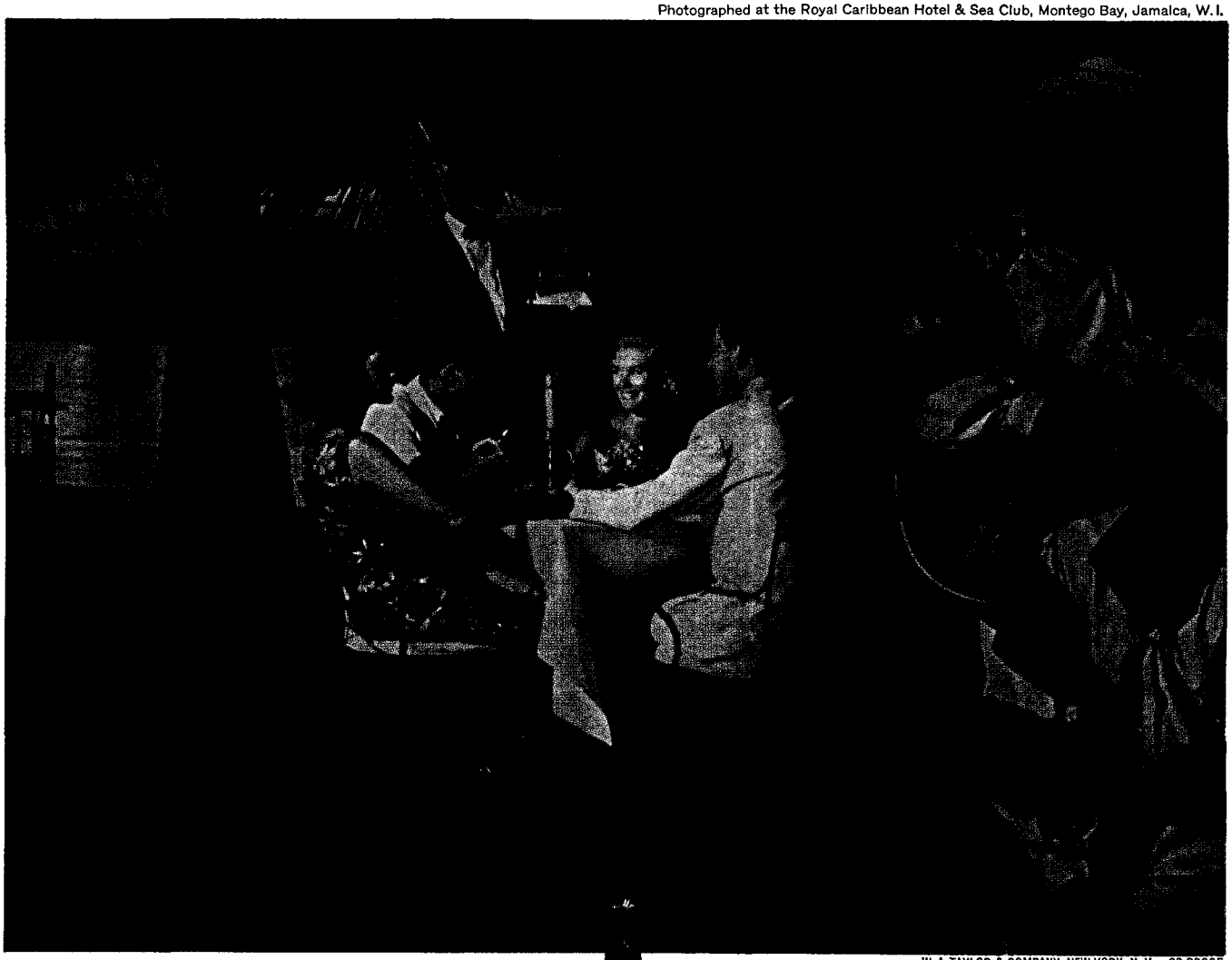
You can dance the Limbo till dawn...
You can raft miles down the Rio Grande...

but you haven't been to ...

Photographed at the Royal Caribbean Hotel & Sea Club, Montego Bay, Jamaica, W.I.



W.A.TAYLOR & COMPANY, NEW YORK, N.Y. • 63 PROOF

until you've tasted

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